DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 170 183 SO 011 174

AUTHOR	Fraenkel, Jack R., Ed.; And Others
TITLE	Peacekeeping. Perspectives in World Order.
INSTITUTION	Institute for World Order, New York, N.Y.; World Without War Publications, Chicago, Ill.
PUB DATE	73
NOTE	94p.; For related documents, see SO 011 171-173; Photographs and charts throughout document may not reproduce clearly in hard copy
AVAILABLE FROM	World Without War Council, 67 E. Madison, Suite 1417, Chicago, Illinois 60603 ($0.25 per copy, quantity discounts available)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Case Studies; *Conflict Resolution; *Global Approach; History Instruction; Instructional Materials; International Law; *International Organizations; Models; *Peace; Secondary Education; War; *World Problems
IDENTIFIERS	Congo; Cuban Missile Crisis; Ethiopia; Italy; League of Nations; Selassie (Haile); United Nations; United States; USSR; World War I

ABSTRACT

This pamphlet, intended for senior high classroom use, defines war, peace, and peacekeeping systems; discusses the destructiveness of war; and proposes the case study method for studying world order. The major portion of the booklet explores ways of peacekeeping through analysis of four different models: collective security, collective force, mutual deterrence, and limited world government. Three of these models are illustrated by actual historical systems (the League of Nations, the United Nations, the balance of power between the United States and the USSR) and one by a hypothetical system, that of world law. Each is further appraised by presentation of a scenario of a crisis when the system was used, such as Ethiopia in 1934-1936, the Congo in 1960, Cuba in 1962, and a hypothetical situation in Malaysia in 1989. Organizational charts, maps and chronologies are used throughout the pamphlet, as well as discussion aids in analyzing the systems, reviewing the cases, and using the models. Conclusions and suggestions are provided in the final chapter for testing the models, using a rating chart, building your own model, and testing your own model. (CK)

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Perspectives in World Order

PEACEKEEPING

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Published in the United States by Random House, Inc., New York and simultaneously in Canada by Random House of Canada Limited, Toronto.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Fraenkel, Jack R. 1932-
Peacekeeping.
(Perspectives in world order)
SUMMARY: A textbook concerned with the analysis of systems, both real and projected, for keeping world peace and order.
Includes bibliographical references.
1. Security, International. 2. United Nations—Armed Forces. 3. International organization.
[1. Security, International. 2. Peace] I. Carter, Margaret, 1933- joint author. II. Reardon, Betty, joint author. III. Title. IV. Series.
JX1963.F76 341.73 73-3062
ISBN 0-394-01065-5

Manufactured in the United States of America
First Edition

Chief Editor, Social Studies	Walter Kossmann
Project Editor	Jane Lynn Marx
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Photo Editor	Marie Baxter
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Photo Credits: p. 19, p. 56 Marc Ribaud, Magnum Photos; p. 37 Keystone View Company; p. 38 Wide World Photos; p. 51 Marilyn Silverstone, Magnum Photos; p. 57 Roger Malloch, Magnum Photos; p. 69 United Press International.

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April 1, 1990...

At first it appeared to be the biggest, most unbelievable April Fool's trick of all time. But, suppose it were true! It could mean the end of life on Earth.

It began when the crisp ring of the hot-line telephone—the direct contact between the highest leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union—cut through the Sunday-dawn stillness of the White House communications center. A White House aide quickly summoned the President.

There was a noticeable tightness in Premier Tcherenko's voice at the Moscow end of the line. "Mr. President," he said urgently, "the message I am about to read to you has come to me through many hands and I am not certain of the route it has taken. I have been assured that it is real. But I must say immediately that my country has had no part in creating the demands it includes. My country has no knowledge of those who make these demands. I shall read the message:

To the President of the United States of America:

As your scientific advisers will tell you, it is entirely possible to make simple nuclear explosives by using waste materials from any of your nuclear power generating plants.

Over the past four years, the necessary ingredients for one such explosive device have been secretly assembled at a place near the center of

one of your major cities. This work has been done undercover by people friendly to the cause of the Latin American Revolutionary Freedom Movement.

If you do not meet the demands listed below, this nuclear device will be detonated at the first stroke of noon on April 1–approximately six hours after you receive this message. Though you may consider the weapon primitive, it can take the lives of many of your people, perhaps 200,000 or more.

If you do not wish this to happen, you must take the following steps with the utmost speed:

1. You will dispatch bombers from your Strategic Air Command, fully armed with hydrogen bombs, to circle over the Brazilian cities of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Brasilia.

2. You will notify the President of Brazil that hydrogen bombs will be dropped on the above-named cities unless he, the members of his Cabinet, and the leaders of his Congress give themselves into the custody of General J. G. da Silva of the Brazilian People's Freedom Army within three hours.

3. The President of Brazil will then order control of all Brazilian nuclear missile and aircraft bases and all major military bases turned over to units of the Brazilian People's Freedom Army. Only then will you, Mr. President, be assured that one of your own cities will not be destroyed.

Your balance of terror has now been turned back upon you. Your United States and the sixteen other nations which have nuclear weapons have wallowed in self-praise over the past ten years of what you call 'world peace.' But you have forgotten that your 'world peace' doomed millions of common people to enduring injustice in these bitter lands of the south. And now you know that you will not have peace–you will not have life–unless we have freedom.

(Signed)
Colonel V. Oliveira da Costa
Brazilian People's Freedom Army"

Premier Tcherenko sighed as he finished reading the message. "I am preparing now to meet with my chief advisers," he said. "We are ready to give you total cooperation."

Within twenty minutes, most of the highest ranking members of the President's National Security Council had been assembled. The bits of information each of them was able to contribute only deepened their alarm.

According to earlier intelligence reports, 'General' da Silva's Freedom Army was a splinter group of urban guerrillas. They had no resources and no apparent help from outside Brazil. The fighters were reported to live among the slum people and were somehow

'supported' by them, despite the dire poverty of the districts. Their arms were stolen from the military, and they had raised some money by a series of daring robberies. In an effort to gain attention for their cause they had kidnapped several minor government officials.

The most damaging actions attributed to the guerrillas were the bombings of two office buildings in São Paulo. The two buildings housed the offices of large North American firms with extensive interests in Latin America. The pattern of operation was similar to many movements that had risen and fallen in the developing nations since the mid-twentieth century. But this particular force was so small and had achieved so little success, that it was not considered a serious threat to the government in power nor to foreign investors.

As the National Security Council assembled, a new report came in. State Department representatives had reached the General in the slums of Recife. He was, in fact, preparing to go to the airport for a flight to Rio de Janeiro to confer with members of his movement. He had learned of the situation himself only two hours earlier. And, he had stated emphatically, he had never heard of Oliveira da Costa.

The same report also revealed that the Brazilian People's Freedom Army had suddenly grown enormously. Or so it seemed. It had been thought to have an active membership of about a hundred. But now, the hundred seemed to have swelled to thousands. Crowds of ragged farm laborers and city slum dwellers were reported marching toward every major weapons base in Brazil.

"This is a Russian scheme!" rasped Admiral Searington. "All these years of pretended good relations have been nothing but a distraction while they prepared for this. These Freedom Army people are communist revolutionaries and we all know it! They're behind all these so-called liberation movements and always have been. Now they threaten us and make believe they're innocent at the same time. We should notify Premier Tcherenko at once that Moscow will be wiped out in retaliation. . . ."

Secretary of State J. W. Brooks cut him off. "There is, indeed, a possibility that what you say is true. But the Premier also may be telling the truth. For all we know, this may be a hoax planned by someone not identified with the crisis. Mr. President, I suggest that we. . . ."

Brooks was interrupted by General Robins. Robins was cooler than Searington but no less certain of what he said. "We don't have the time to decide whether this is a hoax or not. The United States is being blackmailed and we don't know by whom. The only thing we can resort to is a drastic preventive action. I say we must be ready to strike unless whoever is behind this plot backs down."

The U.N. Ambassador exchanged a look of anxiety with the Vice President, who responded: "General, none of us fails to realize the spot we're in. But remember it's not just the United States." He paused, obviously restraining himself. "This threat of aggression," he went on, "involves all of our allies as well."

The U.N. Ambassador picked it up. "It's forty years of that kind of thinking that has gotten us into this spot. Always ready to haul out the big guns! I hope, General, that you have some real understanding of the nature of the destruction you are recommending as a possible course of action. This is not the time for rattling nuclear bombs. . . ."

"Nor is it," continued the Vice President, "the time for rehashing old arguments. We should take another look at the critical points in this ultimatum. Then we can figure out how to answer it."

At that moment the Chief of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) entered. "I'm sorry to be late, Mr. President. It took me over an hour to put together this report." The President signaled him to distribute copies of the report to all the Council. The report read as follows:

General da Silva, a former lawyer, left a law practice in Rio to become a labor organizer among the day laborers of the Recife docks about six years ago. A year later, in 1985, the movement was begun by a few laborers, several school teachers, and some other young professionals. The original group divided into pairs or groups of three and went to all the other major cities in Brazil. No overt actions other than the São Paulo bombings and the robberies can be attributed to them. They are known to meet regularly. The numbers of people at these meetings have grown. It is apparently their pattern, however, not to let the meetings become too large. They are holding more meetings in more different places. And after computing these sessions as of six weeks ago, there were found to be between 500 and 1,000 fighters in each city.

Some time between January and March, 1988, about a dozen agricultural workers from Cuba went to Brazil and made contact with the movement. Several of the "agricultural workers" in this Cuban delegation held degrees in nuclear physics and engineering earned in China. Still, there is no proof that these workers were sent officially. At the time of their visits they were supposedly on vacation from their regular work in Cuba. Shortly after this visit, members of the movement began seeking work on large farms in the rural areas. Some of them worked as volunteer teachers in evening literacy classes. The materials used to teach the farm laborers to read were about General da Silva and the Freedom Army and about the agricultural communes of the People's Republic of China. From 15,000 to 20,000 literacy students now attend classes.

The above has been verified, but no official contact with groups outside Brazil has been proven. There is no record of Oliveira da Costa.

General da Silva is in conference with a group in Rio. Some of those at the meeting worked with the Cubans. Most of them have been working in other cities and in rural areas. Some of the experienced people are marching with the laborers toward the military bases. There may be as many as 20,000 in one of these groups. Six groups have been spotted so far. All the bases have been put on alert. The President of Brazil has declared a state of emergency. He has called for a televised phone conference to be held in two hours with the President of the U.S., the Premier of the Soviet Union, the Chairman of the People's Republic of China, the Secretary General of the United Nations, and General da Silva.

Finally the President spoke, "Well, gentlemen, the ultimatum has given us six hours and the President of Brazil has given us two. What course of action do you recommend?"

Analyzing the Story

Things to Think About

How old will you be in the year 1990? Can you imagine yourself or you and some classmates involved in a situation like this? If you were a member of the National Security Council, what would you recommend to the President as a course of action? Can you think of enough other courses of action to make it likely that some form of disaster could be avoided? How would you feel if you discovered the city you were living in was the threatened city?

Things to Do

One way to use the scenario is to form groups to make up endings to the story. One group should come up with a happy ending—i.e., no one gets hurt and the crisis is justly resolved. Another one should write a doomsday ending imagining the worst possible outcome of the crisis. Others should come up with something in between these two extremes.

After the endings have been read to the class, discuss the following questions: Which kind of ending was hardest to make up? What were the difficulties in deciding on the outcomes? What else would you need to know about the situation in Brazil, or the way the world might operate in the future, to decide on an ending that would avoid disaster? Do you think things would have to change in the world to assure a happy ending to the crisis depicted in this scenario?

Peacekeeping and the Scheme of Things

Many people today place the blame for most, if not all, of the world's troubles on what they call "The System." We often hear the phrase: "You can't beat the system." We think and talk about systems all the time, especially when we refer to how the government, economy, and society operate. When pressed, though, most of us find it difficult to define or describe the system and even harder to explain why it has produced so many problems. Even those who defend the system often have trouble describing it clearly. The term *system* as used within this book describes a set of interrelated parts operating together to perform a function or set of functions.

Two examples of systems are the telephone system and the human body's circulatory system. The phones, the wires, the computers, the operators of the telephone company, and the people who use telephones comprise a communication system. The heart, the veins, and the arteries comprise a circulatory system.

Sometimes the various parts of a system may even be small systems themselves. These are known as subsystems. For example, the phone system in one region of the country is a subsystem of the nationwide telephone network. The heart and its major arteries comprise a subsystem of the circulatory system.

Occasionally, the parts or workings or purposes of a system are

difficult to see clearly. They are easier to see when parts of the system are identified and a model of the system is set up. A *model* is either a description or a reproduction. Once a model is set up, it is easier to study, evaluate, and finally to think of ways to change the system. Models can usually take any one of several forms. They may be copies or reproductions of the original, as a model airplane is a structural copy of a real airplane. Or they may symbolize or stand for things, as diagrams or lines on a map illustrate and represent certain areas of the world.

Sometimes words alone can be used to construct models. Textbooks, for example, about how our government operates are really verbal models of the governmental system. Later in this book we will take a look at some verbal and diagramed models of peacekeeping systems. And maybe you and your classmates will try to imagine some other peacekeeping systems and try to describe them verbally or draw models of them.

Systems are not confined to local or national areas. In some cases, the system may be global in nature. Environmental specialists, for example, speak of a global *ecosystem* involving within it all the natural life and all the man-made changes on the planet Earth. They feel that no part of life on Earth goes on without affecting other parts of life and being affected, in turn, by them. Some ecologists think that the ecosystem has become so damaged by air and water pollution, the growth in population, and the continued use of natural resources for war purposes that it is in danger of complete collapse and mankind is in danger of extinction. They feel that the only solutions to the problems will probably involve drastic changes in some of the parts of the ecosystem that man himself has created. In order to find ways to solve these problems, the ecologists often build or describe models of possible changes in the ecosystem.

The ending of wars is viewed by many ecologists as another way of halting the waste of natural resources. Peacekeeping, or the prevention of war, is a solution to which more and more ecologists as well as other scholars and concerned citizens are devoting time and energy.

Almost all people, once they start to think about it, agree that the present system doesn't prevent war effectively. Since the end of World War II, there have been many wars. Most of them have been limited wars confined to one region of the world or to one country. But there has also been a constant threat of nuclear war, which could be the most destructive of all wars. To eliminate the threat of this danger to human society, should we be looking for ways to change the present system?

Things to Think About and Do

1. Make a list of various types of systems that you think you are a part of. In which of these systems are all the members of the class included? Are there some that you alone belong to? Where do you fit in each of these systems?

2. Make a list of the various political systems that you think affect your life. What do these systems do? Are all these functions necessary? Do the systems perform their functions well? Have these systems ever been changed?

3. If any of you have built model airplanes or ships, bring them to class. Some of you may have toys or miniatures of items that are also systems. Since anything with several parts put together to perform a function is a system, there are probably many models that can be brought to class. Remember, if it is the whole or actual thing, it isn't a model—it's the real system. The object of this project is to look at models so that the various parts and their functions within the system can be determined. Here are some questions for a class inquiry about models:

- What system is represented by the model?
- What function is the system supposed to perform?
- What parts of the actual system are not represented by the model?
- How do the parts of the model fit together? What can you see about how they might work together in the real system?
- In terms of your model, what can you learn from it about the real system? What things can you *not* learn about the real system from your model?
- Are there any subsystems represented in your model? (Look to see if any of the parts are made up of smaller parts. Do any of the parts made up of smaller parts perform special functions to help the whole system perform its function?)
- Looking at the parts and how they work together, can you figure out what might cause the system to fail? Are there many things that can prevent a system from functioning?
- Is there anything you might try to change in the model to represent a system that would work better?
- If you have a successful model, will you have a successful system?

The Meaning of War, Peace, and Peacekeeping

Obviously, if wars did not exist there would be no necessity for searching out new ways to resolve conflicts, and no need for a peacekeeping system. To people who have studied the problem, *peacekeeping* means something very special. It does not mean achieving world peace, nor does it mean eliminating all the causes of war. Peacekeeping refers to the many means and efforts directed at *preventing* wars, *reducing* the extent of wars, and *halting* wars already started.

Looking back on man's history, many people have come to believe that a world without conflict is not humanly possible. These people claim that even if world peace were achieved, there is always the possibility of violence breaking out somewhere, and a system of peacekeeping will be necessary.

Perhaps the best way to study the art of peacekeeping is to begin with an examination of what peacekeeping is aimed at—*war*. Like peacekeeping, war has a very special meaning. Although it can be used to mean many kinds of conflicts and violence, the meaning here shall be restricted to those conflicts that occur among nations or among factions within nations. For these purposes, war occurs when armed combat groups are organized to fight until one of the opponents surrenders, or is wiped out, or until the sides agree to stop fighting. Wars have to be carefully planned, and require leaders with special training. This requires military and technical knowledge. Wars also require resources to develop or to buy fighting equipment and to train and support armed forces, soldiers, sailors, pilots, and so forth.

For almost as long as human beings have lived in groups, war has been used to settle disputes between groups wanting to acquire additional resources, land, or markets, or to prevent another group from gaining dominance. War or the threat of war has been used by nations to discourage other nations from attacking them. The ability to make war has made nations feel secure against threats. The system for maintaining the *security* of nations is thus based on war-making and on each nation's ability to make war to protect itself from other nations.

Ways of doing things that are used frequently or widely are sometimes called *institutions*. These methods have become so much a part of human life that they are taken for granted. Until a century

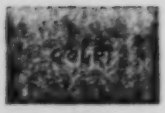
SYMBOLS TO ILLUSTRATE PEACEKEEPING FUNCTIONS

(A general forum for discussion, debate, and rule-making.)

(A smaller group directly concerned with peacekeeping problems.)

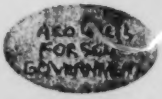
(A committee that deals with problems of poverty and standard of living of all nations.)

(A group charged with the general administration of the entire organization.)



(A judicial agency structured to settle disputes.)

(A group concerned with underdeveloped and former colonial territories.)



(A law-enforcement group directed at halting violence, and providing security for all nations.)

(A tax system that supports the organization.)

ago, slavery, for example, was considered an institution. Human beings were owned as property and made to work like machines for their owners. But institutions can be discontinued. It is not very likely now that slavery will be resumed.

War is another institution. It is commonly used as a way to resolve disputes and to help nations get what they want. Many people now believe that war, like slavery, is a practice that should be terminated. They believe that it is an inefficient and wasteful institution. There must be ways of attaining the same objectives that are less dangerous, less wasteful, and less cruel to people.

For the first time in history, all nations are faced with the possibility of being completely destroyed. Some new method is needed to settle international conflicts. The first step at arriving at this goal would be to have all nations reexamine traditional ways of conduc-

ting their affairs. The second step would be to devise new ways in which nations can deal with each other.

The way nations deal with each other, the organizations they belong to, and the actions they take is known as the *international system*. Sometimes nations cooperate and help each other. At other times nations get into conflicts that may lead to war. The *war system*, is a subsystem within the international system. It is the method most used by nations to resolve serious conflicts. It is this system that students of peace and world order are trying to change. They are trying to replace the war system with a *peace system*.

Things to Think About

1. Peacekeeping does not refer to the whole concept of peace. Look again at the definition of peacekeeping on page 11. What aspects of peace are not included in the definition? Why is peacekeeping one of the most important ways to establish real peace? What function is peacekeeping supposed to perform for the international system?

2. Make a list of the various activities that you know about in which nations interact with each other. Have you ever been involved in any of these interactions? List the ways that your class is involved in the international system. Foreign travel is an obvious example, but there are lots of others. Did you or your family ever get a letter from another country? Are there any foreign-made products in your home or school? How much foreign news do you see on television? You can probably think of many things. You are a part of the international system. You could be a part of the peacekeeping system, too. Discuss one possible way in which your class could be involved in a peacekeeping system.

Studying World Order

As with all other systems, one way to study an international system is to set up a model describing the conditions that exist within the system. If the system is one that is international in nature, the model should be one that describes the actions and interactions among nations. Because peacekeeping, for example, has become a *global* problem, a model for a world peacekeeping system would have to offer a global perspective, including all nations.

Models of global systems that serve world-wide functions are designed and studied by students of *world order*. This is a new field of study concerned with such world problems as war, poverty, and

social injustice. It is concerned with easing racial discrimination, political oppression, and pollution of the planet.

At present, all of these problems are evident throughout the world. They are the reasons for much suffering and violence. The goal of world order study, therefore, is to seek ways of changing the international system so that a new system can be built on the basis of peace and justice. It is directed toward analyzing the obstacles to the achievement of peace, justice, and better living conditions. World order students hope that a world political system can be planned so that there is no need for people to resort to violence in order to overcome poverty and injustice. World order studies also presume that *peace* means not only the absence of war, but also the improvement of the general quality of human life.

The purpose of a world order study is to try to find ways of achieving five key goals:

1. *limiting violence* and preventing wars and other types of hostilities among nations and people;
2. *raising the levels of economic welfare* so that poverty will no longer be the fate of millions of human beings;
3. *expanding social justice* for all peoples, so that oppression and discrimination will be reduced or eliminated;
4. *broadening opportunities for people to participate in public policy-making,* so that they can have more to say about what happens to them;
5. *restoring the quality of the global environment or ecological balance,* so that people can enjoy the benefits of the Earth in good health, without fear of pollution or the waste of resources.

Any one of these goals may be open to challenge and debate. It is evident, however, that they represent considerably more than mere opposition to war.

World order studies hope to lay the groundwork for a global system that would achieve these goals. These studies inquire into six major problems or topics. Three of these topics are directly related to war prevention. They are:

1. *peacekeeping* —preventing or stopping violence;
2. *disarmament* —reducing the number of weapons and limiting or preventing their use;
3. *peaceful settlement of conflict* —resolving differences among peoples and nations by court arbitration or any means other than by the force of arms.

The other three topics of world order studies are more closely related to direct improvements in the quality of life. They are:

4. *science and technology* –using man's knowledge for the greatest benefit to all people;

5. *human rights* –raising standards of fairness and equality for all people;

6. *economic development* –improving the distribution of the Earth's wealth and resources so that all people may have a greater opportunity to live well.

An important thing about world order studies is that all six of these areas should be considered as interrelated. Questions should be raised about the ways they affect each other. Arms production, for example, may have important effects on what kinds of resources are available for other human needs. A strong system of peacekeeping may sometimes ignore social inequities.

Furthermore, the study of world order is different from the usual study of history or international affairs. It is *futuristic* . It is concerned with what might happen in the world political system over the next ten to thirty years. Still, the study of world order uses knowledge of past and present circumstances to explore developments that could happen in the future.

In order to study a problem using futuristics, certain types of questions should be asked. Here are some key questions:

1. What kind of society now exists and what are the major changes, or *trends* , that are happening in it now?

2. What kind of society is likely to exist in the future–say by the year 2000–if these trends continue?

3. What kind of world does the student prefer for himself or herself?

4. If the society predicted in (2) above, differs widely from the society the student imagines he or she would prefer, what could they do as individuals or as members of a group to narrow the gap between what is expected and what they prefer?

One way of determining what to ask in a futuristic study is to employ *cases* and *scenarios*. Cases are descriptions of events. Sometimes they are *historical* or actual cases. Sometimes they are made up so that students can judge what might have happened if certain events had come to pass. When we engage in such speculation we are hypothesizing and the cases are *hypothetical*. Futuristic cases are about events that we think might happen. We make them up by looking at trends or at the way things are going and

drawing some conclusions about the possible consequences of these trends.

The scenario is a special type of case that is made more dramatic by describing the actions of people and their surroundings. This book opens with a futuristic scenario in order to encourage you to speculate on some possible consequences of trends that are occurring today.

In considering the materials that follow, you are encouraged to ask not only what happened but why it happened. And also whether it could have happened in some other way. The historic cases, as well as the futuristic cases, are offered as an opportunity to plan intelligently what to do about the future.

Like models, cases are a useful study device. They can be used to show how a model or system has worked or might work. They permit us to experiment with our models and to try them out to see what could happen after certain circumstances or events have taken place. In this book there are historical cases showing how some systems worked and one futuristic case showing how a model for a proposed system might work.

The Destructiveness of War

The dawn of the Atomic Age has made the destruction of all human life and civilization a distinct possibility. One American bomber can now carry more than the total destructive power of all the weapons dropped in all the wars in human history. The bombers of several other nations have the same capacity.

In addition to the destructive power that American bombers and other weapons now possess, extremely effective delivery systems are constantly being developed to increase the destructiveness of these weapons. Some systems like Multiple Independently Targeted Re-entry Vehicle (MIRV) are amazingly accurate. Single missiles can drop nuclear bombs on four or five cities, almost like a school bus letting children off at different stops along its route.

The Soviet Union has equally sophisticated weapon systems. One of them orbits a bomb in space. It not only has the capacity to drop the bomb from space, but also can set it off while it is still in space. The resulting effect could set fire to an area the size of Japan.

The atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, for all the destruction they produced, had a yield of 20 kilotons (20,000 tons of TNT). Bombs today contain more than 50-megatons (50,000,000 tons of TNT). A 50-megaton bomb is estimated to have a lethal radius of eight miles and a total destructive range of forty-three square miles.

Biological and Chemical Warfare

The destructive possibilities of biological and chemical warfare are potentially as disastrous as those of nuclear warfare. Until November, 1969, when President Nixon announced a ban on the production and use of germ weapons, the United States had been involved in preparing disease-causing bacteria and toxins—the poisonous products of some bacteria—for use in war. At that time, three disease-causing agents had already been tested and approved for combat use; one of them, anthrax, had the power to kill up to 99 percent of its victims. Though the United States has claimed it stopped such experiments completely, some commentators feel that the extent of the ban is unclear.

Even greater uncertainty exists concerning the efforts of other nations in this field. Britain, China, Poland, Israel, Egypt, and South Africa have expressed interest in chemical and biological warfare through research or the use of gas in combat. In 1967, for instance, an International Red Cross Committee reported that Egypt had made use of germ warfare in Yemen. (Because they are far cheaper and easier to produce than nuclear weapons, biological weapons in the hands of small nations are said to have possibilities of becoming "the poor man's atom bomb"!)

The possibility that such weapons may be set off by peacetime accidents also presents a problem. So little is known about controlling germ weapons. They have apparently never been tested in field situations by the United States. What might happen, then, if a natural catastrophe—tornado, earthquake, or lightning storm—hit the area where these weapons are stored and triggered them?

Most chemical weapons, on the other hand, have been field-tested and the results of some accidents are known. Early in 1969, Americans learned that 6,400 grazing sheep had been killed some months earlier by nerve gas at a point forty-seven miles east of a target area at the Dugway Proving Grounds in Utah. (U.S. Highway 40 is only thirty-five miles north of the target area.)

It is now possible for all of us to understand why President John F. Kennedy told a meeting of the United Nations General Assembly in September, 1961, that "Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind."

Hopes for Peace

Every great war in history has been followed by a renewed interest in peace. More and more individuals have realized that war is ineffective as a means of dealing with differences of viewpoint or in

attaining goals. A Swede, Alfred Nobel, established the Nobel Peace Prize in 1901. It is awarded annually to the person who does the most to promote peace and human brotherhood throughout the world. In 1910, an American industrialist, Andrew Carnegie, set up the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace through a ten million dollar grant. Its purpose is to help bring about the abolition of war by promoting better understanding among the nations of the globe.

Some early peace proposals urged the formation of a single world state with one all-powerful, unselfish emperor who would be the "Servant of All," suppress tyranny, and maintain world peace. Other early planners called for an organization of nations into some type of confederation or joint system to maintain peace. A few hundred years ago, with the rise of nation-states in Europe, peace planners proposed federations or unions of kings and princes (and later of democratic governments). Delegates were to be sent to a central government of common concern. Late in the nineteenth century, the idea of a world court, to which disputes between nations could be brought by mutual consent, seemed to many to be another good way to keep peace.

American troops test a chemical agent in Alaska. Chemical warfare is terrifying for there is little defense against its effects.

Courts and Arbitration to Settle Disputes

The idea that disputes should be settled through arbitration began to develop about the same time as world courts. Quarrelling nations were supposed to submit their disputes voluntarily to a board of judges assembled especially to deal with that particular dispute.

Leagues, alliances, unions, pacts, and treaties have been formed and broken throughout the course of man's search for peace. Efforts to attain peace have been undermined thus far, principally by the inclination of men or nations to fight, and by the absence of workable alternatives to war.

In the rest of this book, systems and cases will be examined that explore some alternatives to war. Two questions can be kept in mind. Can humans devise an effective peacekeeping system? Can this generation help in the search for a workable alternative to war?

Things to Think About

1. Planning a peacekeeping system for the future requires, first, consideration of the reasons that nations have for continuing to go to war. Following is a list of some reasons for going to war.

Possible Causes of Future Wars

- An overpopulated nation invades a less populated nation for the expressed purpose of obtaining more living space for its people.
- A nation in need of natural resources invades another nation with a wealth of natural resources, planning to take over them.
- A nation that has had a vital source of water diverted by another nation retaliates by declaring war.
- A nation attacks another nation whose industrial pollution is spreading beyond its own borders.
- A nation, or a group of citizens from one nation, enters another nation seeking to help an "oppressed minority" overthrow the government.
- A nation forcibly compels the citizens of another nation to adhere to its ideas and values.
- A nation militarily helps another nation win its independence from an imperialist power.
- One regional group of nations attacks another regional group of nations with the intent of taking over the world.
- A group of poor nations attacks a group of rich nations that refuses to share their wealth.
- An international conspiracy attempts to take over the world.

- An accidental nuclear weapon explosion produces retaliation from the victimized nation.
- Seeking revenge on a particular nation or group of nations, a "madman" in the armed forces detonates an atomic weapon.

Which of these reasons do you think is most likely to cause a war in the future? Which is least likely to cause a war? What other reasons can you think of for going to war? Compare your reasons with those of your classmates. Which reason was listed most frequently? Make a tally of the number of times a particular cause was listed. What are the three causes considered by your classmates as the most probable?

2. Many critics have suggested that war is built deeply into our way of life and our educational system. Some critics, in fact, have charged that school history books give far more attention to wars than they deserve in relation to other important events and movements. How would you test this claim in order to prove or disprove it? In a full-class session or in small-group sessions, discuss possible methods you might use and agree on one (or one per group) that you think is fair and accurate.

Can the charge be tested accurately by counting the number of words in a book, or in the book's index, that refer to war? Can it be tested accurately by analyzing just one book, or is it necessary to analyze several books? Should pictures, charts, and maps be taken into consideration in the study? Should the study concern itself only with material included in a textbook or should it include other books; or should you do a random survey of history books in your school library? How many books should you examine? Should you consider what could have been included in these books, but was not?

Once you have decided how you will investigate the charge, conduct your study in an agreed-upon period of time. Do you find the charge to be supported or refuted? What qualifications must you keep in mind in drawing conclusions?

3. You may wish to make a more general survey of your community based on your conclusions in (2) above. Is the atmosphere or the appearance of where you live affected a great deal, a moderate amount, or only a little by the traditions of war? What facts (such as street names, names of public parks and buildings, monuments, types of organizations, public activities, etc.) support your opinion?

4. Make a list of at least three things you think men and nations need to know more about if they are going to be able to eliminate war entirely. Compare and discuss the things on these lists that most of you agree are important. Is there any way that schools can help provide education in these matters?

Some Models, Systems, and Scenarios

The problems of war and peace should now be familiar to you. You have even thought about some alternatives to the war system. The next step is to find out about some ways that have been suggested to keep the peace. Some of these alternatives to war are past plans and organizations, some are present institutions and proposals, and some are models for the future. Some of these solutions have failed, others have been somewhat successful, while still others (it is hoped) are going to attain the sought-after goal—peace.

One way to start thinking about solutions to a problem, of course, is to come up with a theory about the causes of the problem. A theory is a logical but not necessarily proven idea. It has to be tested rather thoroughly before it is proven. Theories are often tested by means of models. An idea based on a theory is set up as a model of a system. If the theory is wrong, the system probably will not work.

The authors of this book have a theory that wars still occur because there is no satisfactory alternative system. But they have not developed a particular theory that they can use as a base for a model of a peace system. By looking at theories and ideas that have been used to set up other models, they feel that both they and you will be able to arrive at a possible alternative solution that will be successful.

Model No. 1: Collective Security

The primary idea of this first model is to provide collective security. The designers of this system believed that nations went to war with each other to insure the security of their own national identity. If there were another way of being safe and secure, nations would not have to resort to war. If they shared the responsibility for security with each other within an organizational framework, and promised not to attack each other, all would be safer and there would be fewer wars.

An attack on one member is considered an attack against all the members. The organization as a whole recommends actions that might be taken by individual memoers who are involved in disputes or under attack. No armed forces can be commanded by the organization, and there is no provision in its charter for police actions. The organization has no direct means of using force to stop violence between nations nor to prevent it. It can, however, recommend that such actions be taken individually or collectively by the various members. Only a few of the nations of the world belong to this organization.

This organization is divided into three main parts: a *council*, an *assembly*, and a *secretariat*. Consult page 26 for a diagram of the model based on this theory.

System No. 1: A League of Nations

World War I, which began in 1914, introduced a new kind of conflict into human history. It was the first general war among various nations of the world. The powers involved were Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Ottoman Empire (the Central Powers) on the one side; and Belgium, Britain, France, Greece, Japan, Montenegro, Portugal, Rumania, Russia, and Serbia (the Allies), later joined by Italy and the United States on the other.

The use of new and powerful weapons such as bombs, airplanes, and tanks turned the war into the most disastrous one the world had ever known. World War I cost about 10 million military lives and 5 million civilian lives. France alone lost 60 percent of her young men. The direct cost of the war was estimated at 186 billion dollars for military operations alone. The indirect costs (such as destruction of property) were estimated to have been 10 million dollars an hour at their peak in 1918.

What caused so destructive and costly a war? How could similar wars be prevented? The leaders who set about constructing the peace at the end of the war asked themselves these questions because they hoped to find a way to avoid such wars in the future.

Causes of World War I

High on the list of causes was *nationalism* – the desire of a nation to protect its own identity and to assert itself and its own interests. Nationalism in the early part of the twentieth century was strong in eastern Europe, especially in the Slavic countries ruled by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Also Germany and Italy, having become politically unified nations only in the latter half of the nineteenth century, were eager to expand their power further in order to catch up with the older nations, Britain and France.

Most nations in Europe felt that this desire of Germany and Italy to expand their power and to have stronger nationhood might upset the "balance of power" that had kept the nations of Europe on equal terms during most of the nineteenth century. With the exception of the war between France and Germany that erupted in 1870, there had been no major war in Europe since 1815. The European nations had worked out a system of treaties and alliances whereby power was quite evenly distributed among them and there was no reason for going to war. If any one nation gained a great deal more power, this balance could be upset. Thus, France, and England, viewed German expansiveness with great alarm.

Gradually, Europe became divided into two armed camps. Each camp was threatened by the other and took steps to try to assure its security. Munitions factories began to turn out armaments. Although navies were extremely important, land armies were still the most vital part of a nation's armed forces. As armaments grew, so did armies.

National oppression, arms races, secret treaties, and economic competition all seemed to have contributed significantly to World War I. The leaders who planned for peace, therefore, sought to prevent recurrence of these causes.

Fourteen Points

In 1918 President Woodrow Wilson of the United States enumerated his famous Fourteen Points, his program for peace. Wilson's foremost goal was to set forth a number of specific proposals that would avoid a repetition of the causes leading to World War I.

Wilson's fourteenth point was the most significant of all. It called

for "a general association of nations. . .for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity." This association or league was to be a forum for nations to discuss and resolve differences, but more important, it was to be an agency for the mutual defense of its members. It was to be a system of collective security and the first formal international attempt to organize peace.

A committee of the victorious Allied powers met at the Palace of Versailles outside of Paris in 1919 to draft a peace treaty and a constitution for the League. Wilson himself presented this constitution, called the *Covenant*, to the delegates at the Paris conference. They accepted it unanimously on April 28, 1919.

The League of Nations was officially born on January 10, 1920, the day that the Versailles Treaty formally went into effect. Over its twenty-year life span, the League counted some sixty-three states in its membership. But the largest number at any one time was fifty-eight. The United States did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles, and never joined the League.

Organization of the League The Covenant of the League of Nations provided for three main bodies: the *Assembly*, the *Council*, and the *Secretariat*. Plans were also established for the *Permanent Court of International Justice*, or World Court, whose job would be to hear international disputes submitted by nations, whether members or non-members, wishing to have their conflicts settled according to principles of law and justice.

The Assembly consisted of all the nations who were members of the League. Each member state received equal representation and equal voting power. The Assembly could deal "with any matter affecting the peace of the world," but it possessed no actual power. It could only recommend actions to be taken by League members.

The Council was a smaller body than the Assembly. It was made up of five permanent members (the victorious Allied powers) and from four to eleven nonpermanent members who were selected on the basis of geographic, ethnic, economic, and cultural considerations, making the Council representative of the total League membership. All Council members, permanent or nonpermanent, had an equal vote, except that a nation could not vote on a dispute if it was one of the parties involved. The most important functions of the Council were to settle international disputes, carry out recommendations of the Assembly, and prepare plans for disarmament. All major decisions of the Council required a unanimous vote, as did those of the Assembly.

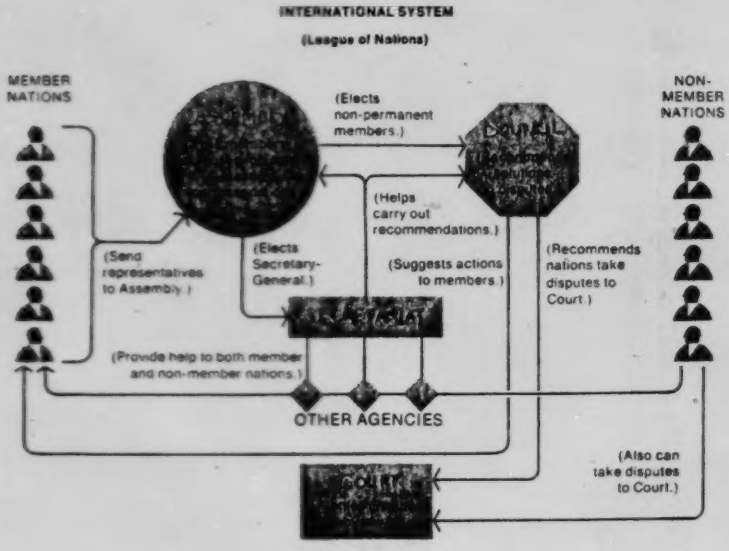
The Secretariat, under the leadership of a Secretary-General,

coordinated all League activities and centralized the overall administration of the League. The Secretary-General was the chief administrative officer of the League.

The World Court, or Permanent Court of International Justice, was closely connected to the League. It met at The Hague, in the Netherlands, beginning in 1922. The Court consisted of fifteen judges, serving nine-year terms, who acted independently of their governments. These judges always represented different nationalities and systems of law. The Court had the authority to render judgments concerning disputes or quarrels between nations, but only if the nations involved were willing to bring their cases before the Court. The Court could not compel them to do so. The Court had no power to enforce its decisions and opinions, though in practice they were usually accepted.

The heart of the League was found in the peacekeeping provision of the Covenant. The principle of "collective security" lay in Articles 10 and 11. Article 10 stated that "the members of the league undertake to represent and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League." Article 11 declared that "any war or

MODEL OF A COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM



threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the league or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole league." In other words, an attack against any one member was viewed as an attack against all members. If any aggressor attacked a member of the League, the League Council would advise what action was to be taken. Any such decision, however, had to receive unanimous approval from the member states.

The members also agreed that if a dispute of a serious nature should arise, they would "submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council." Should the Council be unable to arrive at a unanimous decision, the members would be free to do as they pleased. They agreed, however, that in no case whatever would they go to war until at least three months after the report had been issued by the arbitrators or by the Council.

The drafters of the Covenant had agreed that one of the major causes of war was the volume of armaments possessed by various countries. They intended, therefore, to establish armaments limits by which the member nations would have to abide. The Council would suggest how the manufacture of armaments by private enterprise could be prevented. The members of the League would also exchange "full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programs, and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purpose."

There was still the question, however, of what to do if a nation broke its promises and went to war. What could the League do then? The League had the following powers. The members could:

- sever all trade or financial relations with the offending nation (apply sanctions);
- prohibit all interactions between their citizens and the citizens of the Covenant-breaking state; and
- prevent all financial, commercial, or personal transactions between the citizens of the Covenant-breaking state and the citizens of any other state, whether it be a member of the League or not.

Should the above measures prove ineffective, the Council could recommend that the League use force against the peace-breaking state. The members also agreed to support each other financially and economically in any steps taken, in order to share losses and inconveniences arising from carrying out the above measures; and to allow forces to cross their territory in any efforts to protect the "Covenant of the League."

A member who violated any provision of the League Covenant could also be voted out of the League by a vote of the Council.

However, any such vote would require a unanimous decision of the Council representatives.

The League could not go beyond these measures to resolve disputes. It had no army and navy of its own. It had no means by which it could force its members to contribute money or military forces to League endeavors.

The designers of the League believed that they had established an organization that would help bring peace and stability to Europe and the world. They had provided for the reduction of arms. They had established provisions for dealing with disputes among nations. They had even provided for sanctions against an aggressor if war were to come. Many men had come to believe that finally a means by which war could be prevented had been established.

The League provided for regular meetings of member nations, not only to discuss common problems, but also to discuss any matter that seemed dangerous to world peace. The participants bound themselves not only to try to settle disputes peacefully, but also to be at least partially responsible for defending every other member against aggression. The idea of a system of "collective security" was to be the League's "muscle," which could deter an aggressor and keep the peace.

Analyzing the System

Let us take another look at the peacekeeping system that was planned as a result of World War I. If we are to make any judgments about its effectiveness in preventing international violence, we must have a very clear idea of the theory behind the plan, the way the plan operated in carrying out that theory, and what the planners believed to be the major causes of war.

1. Restate in your own words the central idea behind the League.

2. Review the organization of the League and how each part of it was supposed to operate to help carry out the peacekeeping functions.

3. List what the planners of the League considered to be the major causes of war. Beside each cause on your list, make a notation indicating whether or not that particular item could cause war in the present or in the future.

4. Discuss the effectiveness of the League's methods of dealing with nation's who go to war. Decide on the relationship between these methods and collective security.

Ethiopia, 1934-36

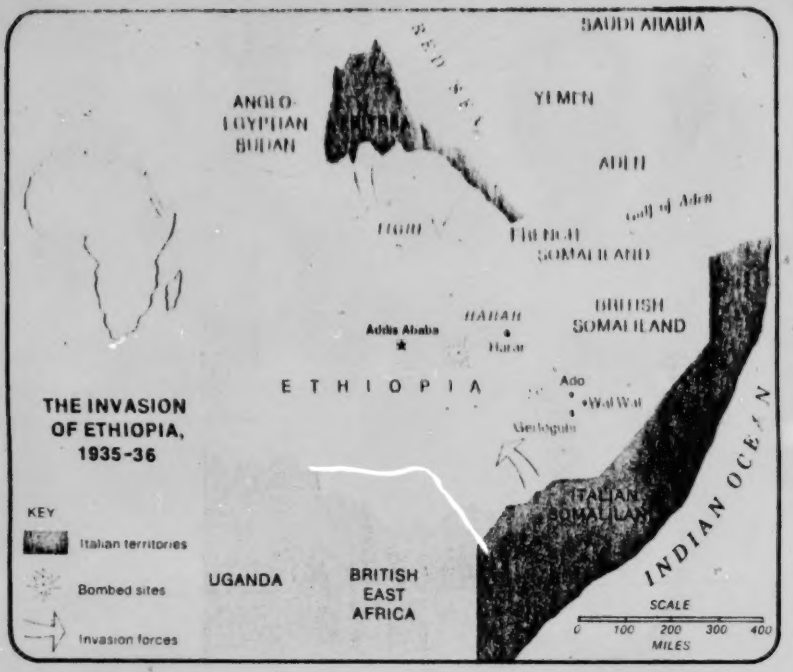
The League of Nations was based on several assumptions–that most nations would want peace; that most nations would avoid war as a means of promoting their own national interests; and that most nations would desire to use the organization's machinery for preventing wars. Many people believed that World War I was the "war to end all wars." They also believed that democratic nations would be more peace-loving than the kingdoms and empires which they blamed for most of the warlike policies prior to 1914. Given these assumptions, many people based their hopes for peace on the League. How well-founded their hopes were can be seen in the following case concerning one of the major crises the League faced.

Chronology of Events

1934 *December 14* –Ethiopia telegram to the League of Nations reporting the attack by Italy.
1935 *January 17* –Ethiopia seeks to bring dispute before Council.
March –Italy continues military buildup.
March 16 –Adolf Hitler of Germany denounces disarmament provisions of Versailles Treaty.
March –Stresa Conference of Italy, France, and Britain.
June –British diplomat Anthony Eden meets Italian Premier Benito Mussolini in Rome.
July –Britain announces arms embargo against Italy and Ethiopia.
August 16-17 –Eden and Pierre Laval of France discuss crisis with Mussolini.
September 3 –Arbitration Commission reports on Wal Wal incident.
September 25-October 4 –New Italian aggression; Ethiopia appeals to Council for action under Article 16.
October 7 –Committee of Six condemns Italian aggression; proposes collective security actions.
December 11 –Hoare-Laval Plan is published.
December 18 –Ethiopia and Italy reject Hoare-Laval Plan.
1936 *January* –Italy begins to use gas bombs in Ethiopia.
March 7 –Hitler invades Rhineland.
May 2 –Emperor Haile Selassie flees Ethiopia.
May 9 –Mussolini annexes Ethiopia.
June 30 –Haile Selassie addresses Assembly.

How It Might Have Happened

Although we don't know exactly who all the real people involved



were, the events might have unfolded something like this: The scene for this scenario based on the Ethiopian case opens in Geneva, Switzerland, at League headquarters on December 14, 1935.

Paul[1] let out a slow, soft whistle as he looked at the two telegrams. They contained words that could bring the League of Nations to glory or destruction. The first one, urgent in tone, came from the government of Ethiopia.

> . . .on December 5 Italian troops with tanks and military aeroplanes suddenly and without provocation attacked Ethiopian escort of [Anglo-Ethiopian Commission investigating pasture lands in Ogaden]. Ethiopian Government protested by note of December 6. Despite protest, Italian military aeroplanes 3 days later bombarded Ado and Gerlogubi. . . . Italian Charge d'Affaires, disregarding protest, demanded indemnity and

[1]Paul and other minor characters in this case are fictional people, but all the major characters in it, such as the national leaders—Haile Selassie, Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler, Anthony Eden, Pierre Laval—were real, as was the situation itself. The important statements and quotations in this case are taken from the *League of Nations Official Journal* and other League of Nations documents written during the years 1934 to 1936.

moral reparation. . . .Ethiopian Government draws Council's attention to Italian aggression and gravity of situation. Detailed confirmation and documents follow.

The other telegram, dated two days later, came from Italy:

> . . .On December 5 Ethiopian troops made sudden attack in force on our post without any provocation. . . .The Italian Government accordingly protested to the Addis-Ababa [capital of Ethiopia] Government and reserves right to state reparations considered due. . . .

Until two days ago, Paul had never heard of the Wal Wal oasis in Ogaden where the attack took place. What had really happened? As far as he and other League of Nations staff members could determine, there had been a clash in which the Italians had swarmed over the border into Ethiopia. The Ethiopians had fled in disorder. The greater firepower of the Italian tanks and planes had killed an estimated one hundred Ethiopians; the Italians suffered a loss of thirty. Yet on the maps available—even an official Italian map c[illegible]5—it looked as if Wal Wal was clearly within Ethiopia's borders.

Peter, one of the League's experts on the colonies, pointed to the broken line that ran between Ethiopia and Italian Somaliland and exclaimed, "Borders! Who knows what a border is in that part of Africa? Ever since the Italian-Ethiopian Treaty of 1908, both parties have stalled on the agreement to establish frontiers. The local nomad tribesmen don't know what a frontier is, and move back and forth through the territory without a worry. Italy has allowed, even encouraged, Italian citizens to settle in the disputed area."

"What an unfortunate place in which to have a country," someone remarked. "There's no seaport! And only one railroad. . .into French territory. Haile Selassie has a problem. He's surrounded by the French, the Italians, and the British."

Paul realized that he had a lot to learn in order to be able to carry out his duties. These late-night sessions were one way that he and others in the lower echelons of the League could exchange information and opinions. Each man played a role arguing out the positions that might be taken by League member nations.

Jacques had volunteered to present the likeliest French stand. He argued that the League should not provoke Mussolini—Il Duce, the fascist dictator of Italy. "We need Il Duce in Europe to help us hold back Hitler. After all, didn't he—just this summer—send his divisions to the Brenner Pass after Hitler tried to overthrow the Austrian government? Mussolini is a strong man. France needs him to hold back Germany."

Jerry interrupted, speaking for Britain. "Now wait a minute! If we

all act together, if each member of the League agrees. . .we could check Mussolini, and I think the strength of such a move would have even more influence on Hitler. If Hitler thought that the League would act to restrain him. . .well. . .And I don't think halfway moves will work. We either all decide to take a stand or. . . ."

"Or nothing," said Henry, taking the role of Ethiopia. "That's typical of you big powers. Just look at what you've done to us Ethiopians in the last forty years. In 1896 we defeated the Italians in the battle of Aduwa and signed the Italian-Ethiopian Treaty which gave us our 'independence.' Yet in 1906, after a whole series of agreements with the British and the French, you insulted our Emperor Menelik by carving up our country into British, Italian, and French spheres of influence. And as if that weren't enough, in 1925, barely ten years ago, you signed a treaty with Italy spelling out your support for each other's interests in my country."

He stopped for a deep breath and looked slowly around the table. "Not one of you larger European nations has ever actually recognized my country as a self-ruling nation or my Emperor as a sovereign ruler. Even though we're a Member of the League of Nations, you play with my land and my people as if we were a pawn on your chess table. Why don't you take a strong stand against aggression?"

On January 17, 1935, Ethiopia moved to bring the dispute before the Council. On January 19, Italy offered to negotiate under the Italian-Ethiopian Treaty of 1928. The League Council laid aside the question until the following session.

The Ethiopian government, on March 16 and 17, reported that Italy had demanded reparations—payment for damages—before any discussions of negotiations or arbitration could take place. Ethiopia charged that the Italians were making large-scale military preparations and that thousands of Italians were being sent to Italy's East African colonies. Ethiopia requested a full investigation by the League.

Charges, countercharges, and explanations continued to be registered by Ethiopia and Italy. On March 16, to confuse things even more, Adolf Hitler denounced the disarmament provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and announced that he was rebuilding the German army.

In May, Ethiopia pressed again for a League investigation, protesting that Italy was purposely raising difficulties in order to delay arbitration and gain more time to send "numerous troops and a large quantity of war matériel" to Africa. Diplomats Anthony Eden of Eng-

land and Pierre Laval of France persuaded Mussolini to begin the arbitration and submitted a resolution. Adopted on May 25, the resolution stated that if no settlement had been reached by August 25, the Council was to meet on the question.

Paul pulled together the reports he had collected. It was his turn to summarize the major events and diplomatic notes of the summer for his friends. The next morning, September 4, 1935, the League Council was to debate the Italian-Ethiopian dispute.

The reports read as follows:

I. The Italians, judging from Italian newspapers, Ethiopian complaints, and messages from military attaches assigned to Rome have continued to build up their army and war matériel in Africa.

A. The Italians claim that all movements of troops and supplies are of a defensive nature, to counteract continuing intrusions into their territories.

B. Ethiopia has requested that neutral observers be sent to her borders. The request has been ignored.

C. The Italian government has suggested that armaments could be kept under control if the British would stop sales to both Italy and Ethiopia. They have announced that any sale of arms would be viewed as an unfriendly act.

1. The French will no longer allow arms to be transported through French Somaliland to Ethiopia.

2. The English have stopped sales of arms to both countries.

II. Ethiopia, in a note to the British, questioned if the embargo of arms could actually be called a neutral action.

III. Mussolini was host to representatives from France and Britain at a conference at Stresa, Italy. Hitler was the main concern of the conference. The statement issued by the conference called for solidarity in maintaining the peace of Europe. There was no mention of Africa.

IV. Britain's Eden arranged a meeting at which he and Laval proposed to adjust territories and economic agreements and to supervise reforms in Ethiopia. On the third day the meeting was adjourned because Mussolini had dismissed the plan and had made no alternative suggestions.

V. On September 3, 1935, the Arbitration Committee presented its decisions. Only the Wal Wal incident of December 5, 1934, which had triggered the crisis, was mentioned. Nothing was said about the underlying grievances of Ethiopia. Neither side was declared responsible.

After Jacques and his friends read the analysis of the Ethiopian situation, no one spoke for several minutes.

Finally, Jacques asked, "Are we going to stand by and watch a small country be destroyed?" Again there was silence.

Jerry shook his head and said, "I can't believe it. I have to go along with today's newspapers. Every major editorial is optimistic about the Ethiopians. France and England can't let it happen."

"Maybe not. But that remains to be seen in tomorrow's Council meeting," countered Henry.

On the following morning Paul and his co-workers blended into the background of the Council chamber. The discussions they heard on this occasion were not like the evening role-plays. In contrast, these discussions were real and deadly serious.

Aloisi, the Italian delegate, gave the longest speech that day. He spelled out the Italian government's special situation in regard to its political and territorial relations with Ethiopia. He also presented examples of Ethiopia's conduct which he claimed proved her "unworthy of the confidence placed in her when admitted to the League and which has placed her outside of the Covenant. Italy, in taking action against this state of affairs, defends her own safety, her own prestige, and her dignity."[2]

Aloisi argued that the Ethiopians were an uncivilized people in need of rule and guidance by a more advanced nation. To prove his point he listed such conditions as slavery, warfare between tribes, and general anarchy. Item by item he built his country's case for military action.

On September 5, Maxim Litvinov, the delegate from Soviet Russia, responded:

> I venture to say that, for the development of backward peoples. . .for raising them to higher civilization, other means than military may be found. . . .The League should stand firm on the principle that there cannot be justification for military operations except in self-defense.[3]

The Aloisi speech, Litvinov said, amounted to "an invitation to the Council to declare its disinterestedness in the conflict. . .and to repudiate its international obligations."

The Ethiopian delegate answered the Italian argument by stating: "The question is whether, in a few days, a war of extermination will be opened." He asked that the Council take measures to prevent war, as provided by the Covenant.

Never before had Paul seen the Council act so quickly. A commit-

[2]Based on the *Italian Memorandum to the League of Nations*, September 4, 1935.

[3]Litvinov, quoted by F. P. Walters, *A History of the League of Nations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 645.

tee of five was appointed and by September 18 had published a plan that met the major arguments put forward by Italy. While Emperor Haile Selassie showed a willingness to negotiate under the plan, Premier Mussolini opposed the proposals. Because the Council could do nothing more, the question was turned over to the Assembly for discussion.

Statements by the British Foreign Secretary Sir Samuel Hoare and the French Premier Pierre Laval reaffirmed the faith of the two great powers in the League Covenant. There was still optimism that the League would hold itself together in order to guarantee peace.

But while the diplomatic exchanges were taking place in Geneva, two columns of Italian troops forged out from Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. On October 5, Ethiopia appealed for action under the League Covenant, claiming that Italy had committed "an act of war" against the League.

The report of the Council concluded "that the Italian Government has resorted to war in disregard of its covenants under Article 12 [failure to submit the dispute to arbitration] of the League of Nations." Fifty of the fifty-four member nations voted to comply with that conclusion and to set up a Coordination Committee which would work out specific proposals for sanctions as provided in Article 16. Two such proposals were put into effect on November 2. Members agreed to discontinue the export of arms and loans of money to Italy. On November 18, there were also prohibitions against the importation of Italian goods and the export of certain products which Mussolini needed to carry on the war. Mussolini definitely needed oil for his military campaign in Africa. He let it be known that Italy would regard an oil embargo as "a most unfriendly gesture."

The Sanctions Committee asked France and Britain again to try to develop a formula to which both Ethiopia and Italy might agree. Action on oil sanctions was delayed so that this "Hoare-Laval Plan" could be introduced to the Council.

The plan was greeted with stunned silence. It suggested that Italy receive almost half of Ethiopia's territory and the right of economic development in a large zone of southern Ethiopia. Ethiopia, in return, would be granted an outlet to the sea. No country felt it necessary to examine the terms.

It was then necessary to return to the question of an embargo on oil. The Sanctions Committee met on January 22 and February 12. Economists predicted that such an embargo would take three and one-half months to be effective, and that the effectiveness would depend on whether or not the United States would agree to restrict oil exports. The U.S., not a member of the League, said it was

sympathetic to the spirit and purpose of the sanctions, but would not hinder the trade of its oil companies. On March 2, the Committee again postponed a decision so that the two warring parties might respond to an urgent appeal for settlement.

Meanwhile, some of the sanctions seemed to be taking their toll. Italy's trade was declining and the nation appeared to be having money troubles. In Ethiopia the Italian armies had been surprisingly slowed down by the resistance of the people and the summer rains.

"This newspaper headline sounds as if it's from the nineteenth century! Look at this! "Urgency for Expansion Seen as Civilized Mission!"

"Well, Paul, there's nothing nineteenth century about the mustard gas those Italian airplanes are dropping."

"I know. The Ethiopians have no defense against this gas. Besides, it's supposed to have been outlawed since World War I. This gas makes it impossible for the Ethiopians to fight. And look at this drivel, Jerry! The Italians even say that once the Ethiopians get to know them, they'll welcome them."

There was a pause in the conversation. Finally Jacques asked the big question, "How long do you think they can hold out?"

The next morning they found out. Haile Selassie fled his country aboard a British warship. On May 9, 1936, Mussolini declared the war over and annexed Ethiopia to Italy. Each League member then had a new decision to make. Laval spoke of three alternatives:

The League could decide to recognize an accomplished fact and lift its sanctions. It could decide to keep its sanctions in force until Italy bowed to its authority and agreed to negotiate a settlement of the East African problem in the spirit and within the framework of the Covenent. Or finally, it could approve some drastic measures to bring Italy to terms, such as closing the Suez Canal.[4]

In most of the countries involved there were long public debates. In Britain the question was argued until June 18, at which time Eden announced that he would recommend that sanctions be dropped. At Geneva the Assembly recommended, on July 4, that the "Coordination Committee should make all necessary proposals to the governments in order to bring to an end the measures taken by them in execution of Article 16 of the Covenant."

It was June 30, 1936. Paul looked around the Assembly Hall of the League of Nations. "There they are," he thought, the representatives

[4]Arnaldo Cortesi, New York Times, quoted by Gaetano Salvemini, *Prelude to World War II*, (London: Victor Gollancz 1953), p. 446.

The ill-prepared Ethiopian army readies itself for the battlefield. Peasant soldiers, here with their sons, amass weapons.

of the so-called 'civilized nations' of the world, trying not to look at each other. They're all pretending that Haile Selassie doesn't exist!"

Yet the Emperor of Ethiopia went on speaking:

> . . .It is not merely a question of the settlement of Italian aggression. It is collective security. It is the very existence of the League of Nations. It is the confidence that each state places in international treaties. It is the value of promises made to small states that their integrity and their independence will be respected and insured. . . . In a word, it is international morality that is at stake. Have the signatures appended to a treaty value only in so far as the signatory powers have a personal, direct, and immediate interest involved?
>
> Placed by the aggressor face to face with the accomplished fact, are states going to set up the terrible precedent of bowing before force? Your Assembly will doubtless have laid before it proposals for the reform of the

Haile Selassie addresses the League of Nations in Geneva. He is asking for League intervention in the Italian-Ethiopian conflict.

Covenant and for rendering more effective the guarantee of collective security. Is it the Covenant that needs reform? What undertakings can have any value if the will to keep them is lacking? It is international morality which is at stake and not the Articles of the Covenant.

On behalf of the Ethiopian people, a Member of the League of Nations, I request the Assembly to take all measures proper to ensure respect for the Covenant. . . .

I ask the fifty-two nations who have given the Ethiopian people a promise to help them in their resistance to the aggressor, what are they willing to do for Ethiopia? And I ask the great Powers who have promised the guarantee of collective security to small states, on whom weighs the threat that they may one day suffer the fate of Ethiopia, what measures do they intend to take?

Representatives of the world, I have come to Geneva to discharge in your midst the most painful of the duties of the head of a state. What reply shall I have to take back to my people?"

Reviewing the Case

What were some of the motives behind the actions taken, or not taken, by major nations in the Ethiopian case? In what ways did their policies come into conflict with their pledges as League members?

How did the participants in the conflict use the League, and for what purposes? Were there other steps the League might have taken? If so, what were they?

What do you think were the major strengths and weaknesses of the League in the case of Ethiopia in 1934?

How would you now evaluate the beliefs of the Covenant framers concerning the causes of war and the conditions of peace? If you could have changed the League so that it could have resolved the Ethiopian crisis, what changes would you have made?

Using the Model

1. Review the model that precedes the description of the League, and the possible actions that the Council could have taken. Have a few members of the class role-play the session of the Council that took place on September 4, 1935. Try to make it come out differently, but remember that no actions can be taken other than those listed. Several groups could work at this, attempting a different outcome each time.

Discuss the outcome of the role-play and try to determine what factors produced differences. Read Haile Selassie's speech to the Assembly again. Do you agree that in this case international morality was at stake? Explain why or why not.

2. Do you think a collective security system might work in the future even though it failed in this case? Explain the reasons for your opinion.

Model No. 2: Collective Force

This model, like the collective security model, is basically an international organization. When it was established, it was hoped that it would be the most significant subsystem of the whole international system. The planners of the organization intended that conflicts, disputes, and outbreaks of violence among members would be handled entirely by the organization, which would be able to apply direct force to maintain world peace. They realized, however, that nations would still be involved among themselves in other agreements, and, various forms of cooperation outside the organization. It was thought that one day all nations would become "peace-loving" and thus eligible for membership. When all nations belonged it would be a true *world* peacekeeping organization and maybe then there would be no more wars.

The organization is composed of six main bodies, each charged with some aspect of either stopping wars altogether, or eliminating the causes of war. There is an *assembly* that provides a forum, a *council* that deals with threats to the peace, and two other councils that work on problems concerning the welfare and freedom of nations. In addition, there is a *court* intended to settle international disputes, and a *secretariat* that manages the general affairs of the organization. Consult p. 44 for a diagram of the model based on this theory.

System No. 2: A United Nations

Many factors during the 1920's and 1930's worked against peace. The League lacked power to enforce its decisions, for at no time did more than five of the great powers belong to it, and there were constant arguments among them about enforcement. The Germans seethed with bitterness over what they considered to be the injustices imposed upon them by the Treaty of Versailles. The United States, meanwhile, now the strongest power in the world, had returned to a policy of isolation, or nonparticipation in the affairs of Europe and Asia.

At the same time, the depression of the 1930's, a world-wide economic collapse, created much unemployment and unrest. These conditions nurtured the rise of dictatorships in Germany, Italy, and Japan, who then turned to manufacturing arms and conscripting armies to relieve unemployment. In a further effort to deal with their economic problems, these nations seized such places as Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, and Manchuria.

Setting up the United Nations

World War II began in 1939, and before it ended in 1945, so much devastation had occurred that some leaders thought another war inconceivable. Efforts to ensure permanent peace were undertaken by the Allied nations which had combined to defeat the Axis powers—Germany, Italy, and Japan. The major Allied powers were Britain, France, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China.

The President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the Prime Minister of Britain, Winston Churchill, expressed the idea for a new world organization in the Atlantic Charter of August, 1941, four years before World War II ended. This Charter set forth the Four Freedoms as the goals they hoped the war would

achieve. These goals—freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—became the guiding purposes of the new organization.

In the spring of 1945, under the leadership of the victorious Allied powers, the representatives of fifty nations met at San Francisco, California, to draw up the Charter of the United Nations. Completed by June 26, the Charter went into effect on October 24, 1945. The first General Assembly met on January 10, 1946.

The Preamble to the Charter expressed the hopes of the signers:

> WE THE PEOPLES
> OF THE UNITED NATIONS
> DETERMINED
>
> to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,
>
> AND FOR THESE ENDS to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,
>
> HAVE RESOLVED TO
> COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO
> ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS.

The Preamble was a statement of the conditions considered essential for a lasting peace, in which the use of armed force and aggression could finally be brought under control by the new organization. The prevention of aggression, such as the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, was a major concern, viewed by many to be the most obvious cause of war. The nations that had just survived World War II felt that the problems of poverty and unemployment had contributed to the outbreak of war. There was a feeling that fundamental human rights and basic freedoms should be defended and assured through principles of justice, and that these principles should be considered more important then individual nation-states.

The founding nations also believed that relations among nations should be governed by the rule of law, and that the community of nations should be able to expect its members to honor treaties and agreements. To carry out the purpose of the organization, the original member-nations established six major organs.

United Nations Organization

The *General Assembly* was established as the forum of the organization, and in it all members were represented and had an equal voice. They had the right to debate matters of common concern and to discuss world problems (except those that were strictly the internal affairs of member-nations). *Resolutions* (routine decisions) could be made by majority vote, but *recommendations* calling for action on the part of the organization required approval by a two-thirds vote of the Assembly.

The *Security Council* was set up to attend to problems involved in keeping the peace. The five major Allied powers were granted permanent seats on the Council. Ten nonpermanent members of the Council were elected for two-year terms by the General Assembly. (These were later increased to twelve.) The Security Council was given the right to use force in cases of threats to the peace of the world. But in order to take such action, the five permanent members had to be in agreement.

Peacekeeping actions by the United Nations then depended on the agreement of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and China. Their ability to block Security Council action by failing to agree, or even by abstaining from voting, gave each of them a veto power . The drafters of the Charter granted this veto to the five permanent members, believing that what had held them together during the war would continue to do so.

Almost immediately the limitations of the United Nations became apparent. The Security Council was ineffective in most situations because conflicting interests and ideologies caused the powers to use the veto much more than had been expected. Other member-nations then turned to the General Assembly in the hope that it could act in emergency situations, such as threats to the peace. It was in just such an emergency in November, 1950, that the General Assembly passed the so-called *Uniting For Peace Resolution,* which stated:

> That if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. . .the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to members for collective measures, including in the case of a breach of the peace or act of aggression the use of armed force when necessary, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

The Economic and Social Council was established to deal with the problems of poverty and to carry out programs to improve the

standards of living and the quality of life of the member-nations. Most of its work in the areas of economic development, cultural exchange, education, and public health is carried out by a group of specialized agencies such as the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The *Trusteeship Council* was entrusted with the responsibility of preparing underdeveloped and former colonial territories for self-government.

The *International Court of Justice* was also incorporated into the organization. The Court consists of fifteen judges, all from separate nations. They are, however, elected as individuals on their own merits and not as representatives of their countries. These judges, selected by the Security Council, are therefore expected to serve the broader interests of justice for mankind, not simply the narrow national interests of their own countries. The Court can settle disputes between nations who voluntarily submit their differences and who agree beforehand to accept the Court's decision.

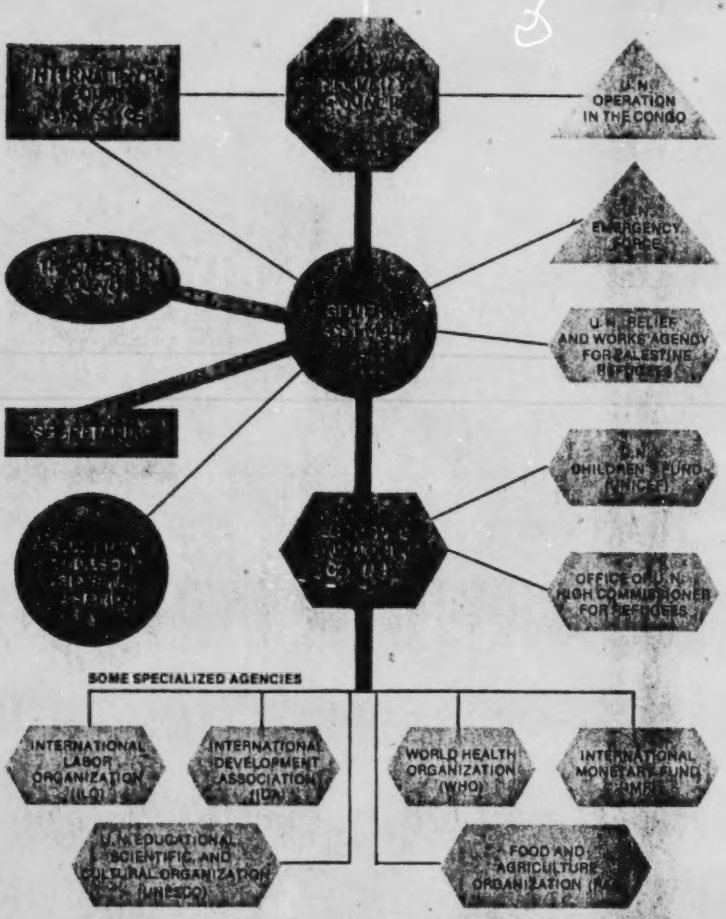
The *Secretariat* was charged with the general administration of the organization. It is headed by a Secretary-General, who is appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendations of the Security Council. In addition to overseeing administrative tasks, it is his responsibility to present to the Security Council, and on occasion to the General Assembly, matters that he believes threaten the peace.

The primary purpose of the U.N., expressed in Article I of the Charter, is "to maintain international peace and security and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace." In this way the U.N. hoped to avoid such hostile actions as those taken by Hitler and Mussolini. But what can the United Nations do if there is a "threat to the peace, or act of aggression"?

Peacekeeping Mechanism

Essentially, peacekeeping is the responsibility of the Security Council. Article 34 of the United Nations Charter gives the Security Council the right to "investigate any dispute. . .which might lead to international friction." Article 33 of the same chapter outlines the desirability of using arbitration whenever possible:

MODEL OF A COLLECTIVE FORCE SYSTEM
(The United Nations and Related Agencies)


U.N. OPERATION IN THE CONGO
U.N. EMERGENCY FORCE
U.N. RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINE REFUGEES
U.N. CHILDREN'S FUND (UNICEF)
OFFICE OF U.N. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES
SOME SPECIALIZED AGENCIES
INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO)
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION (IDA)
WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (WHO)
INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF)
U.N. EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION (UNESCO)
FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION (FAO)

(Functions of Major Organs)

- (Major responsibility is to keep the peace.)
- (Watches over territories that are not self-governing.)
- (Advances human rights and helps people to better their way of life.)
- (Helps all the other agencies do their work as effectively as possible.)
- (Discusses any questions of importance. Recommends actions to be taken by other organs.)
- (Handles international legal disputes.)
- (Organized to patrol and maintain peace.)

> The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by. . .arbitration, or other peaceful means of their own choice. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their disputes by such means.

For those situations calling for more positive action, a Military Staff Committee consisting of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council was set up. This committee was made responsible under the Security Council "for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council."

The U.N. however, has no military troops or police force of its own. Therefore, in order to carry out any decision to use force, it must rely on the willingness of the member-nations to place some of their own military forces at its disposal. Even though Article 43 calls upon its members to "make available. . .armed forces, assistance, and facilities. . .necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security," nations have been reluctant to do so. The framers of the Charter believed that, with the support and cooperation of the member-nations, world peace could be maintained. But only a few countries have earmarked forces for U.N. service.

Analyzing the System

In evaluating the United Nations as a peacekeeping system, two major questions must be asked: Is there any improvement that can be made on past efforts? Will the U.N. be capable of meeting future threats to peace?

1. State in your own words the theory that forms the basis of the organization of the United Nations. Compare this idea with the idea behind the League. How is it different from the earlier theory? How has the United Nations attempted to avoid the shortcomings of the League? Do you believe that the changes were necessary? Explain why or why not.

2. Have one member of the class read the Preamble to the U.N. Charter aloud and try to make certain that everybody understands what the framers of the Charter had in mind. Study each of the main bodies of the U.N., and note how each attempts to carry out the purposes of the organization as stated in the Preamble to the Charter. Were the framers, for example, trying to do something more than just stop international violence? Do you think they were attempting to formulate a real world order system? (Remember that world order systems attempt to stop wars and improve the quality of human life for everybody on this planet.)

3. What do you think the drafters of the U.N. Charter meant when they

stated that a nation must be "peace-loving" to qualify for membership? What kind of tests could be set up to determine if a nation is peace-loving? Some members of the class might want to undertake research on the subject. See if you can find out if any nations who wanted to join the U.N. were kept out on this basis. You also might make a membership chart which would demonstrate the growth of the United Nations year by year. How close is it to becoming a truly world-wide organization? Are there any parts of the world or types of countries which you feel are under-represented? Which areas of the world are best represented? Is membership an important factor in the effectiveness of a peacekeeping organization? Explain the reasons for your opinion.

4. In this book there is one scenario based on a U.N. peacekeeping operation. There have been several such undertakings. Some of you might want to look up when and where these other operations took place, and ascertain the causes of the conflicts and the results of the U.N.'s efforts. Share this information with the rest of the class.

Some of you may also want to look into the many efforts the U.N. has made to try to improve the quality of life. See if these efforts have made any significant contributions toward preventing wars.

The Congo, 1960

Shortly after the San Francisco Conference adjourned, circumstances radically changed the world in which the United Nations hoped to maintain peace. To begin with, the first atomic weapon was detonated over Hiroshima in August, 1945. Next, the "Cold War" between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, began in 1946 and struggles developed in the Middle East and eastern Europe. The Chinese government which had signed the Charter was overthrown and driven into exile by a Communist regime. Rebellions and violence broke out in many former colonial territories desiring immediate independence and self-government, including Indonesia, Indochina and the Congo. Such outbreaks were to become one of the main threats to peace during the postwar period.

All of these factors came to play an important part in the most dramatic peacekeeping effort that the United Nations has undertaken since its founding. The Congo operation of 1960 was perhaps the most controversial and difficult test of the United Nations' effectiveness as a peacekeeping system. The Congo government asked the United Nations to restore order. U.N. troops began to arrive in July. They stayed until June, 1964.

Chronology of Events

1960 *June 30* -The Congo gains independence from Belgium.
July 4 -Violence erupts; troops mutiny against Belgian officers.
July 8 -Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba dismisses Belgian officers and violence spreads out from Leopoldville, the capital of the Congo.
July 9 -Additional Belgian troops arrive to reinforce bases.
July 11 -Moise Tshombe, Provincial Prime Minister, proclaims independence for Katanga, the Congo's richest province.
July 12 -President Joseph Kasavubu and Lumumba request military assistance from the U.N. Security Council.
July 14 -U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold is given authority to send U.N. troops to the Congo.
September 6 -Kasavubu and Lumumba dismiss each other from their respective posts.
November -Lumumba is captured while trying to flee and is turned over to Katanga officials.
1961 *February 14* -Announcement that Lumumba is shot in Katanga.
February 21 -U.N. Security Council passes resolution authorizing force, if necessary, to prevent civil war.
March-April -U.N. publicizes difficulties in financing Congolese operation.
August 28 -U.N. begins military operations in Katanga.
September 17 -Hammarskjold is killed in plane crash.
November 24 -Security Council demands an end to secessionist activities in Katanga.
December 5 -U.N. troops renew fighting with Tshombe.
1962 *May* -U.N. Secretary-General U Thant's plan is presented.
December 27 -Tshombe's troops attack U.N. troops again.
1963 *January 20* -The secession ends.

How It Might Have Happened

On February 13, 1961, in the dining room of the Regina Hotel in Leopoldville, four reporters were enjoying their meal. The foursome included Jon Jarvie of the Canadian Press Service, Judson Bowers of the *British Times Press*, Jay Carroll of the United States News Television, and Maurice Thiebert of the Paris News Syndicate.[5]

Jon was speaking. "Well, you must admit that it's difficult to tell who are the good guys and the bad guys in this Congo flare-up," he

[5]Once again these narrator-characters are fictional, as are the newspapers and news services, but all major characters and events are authentic.

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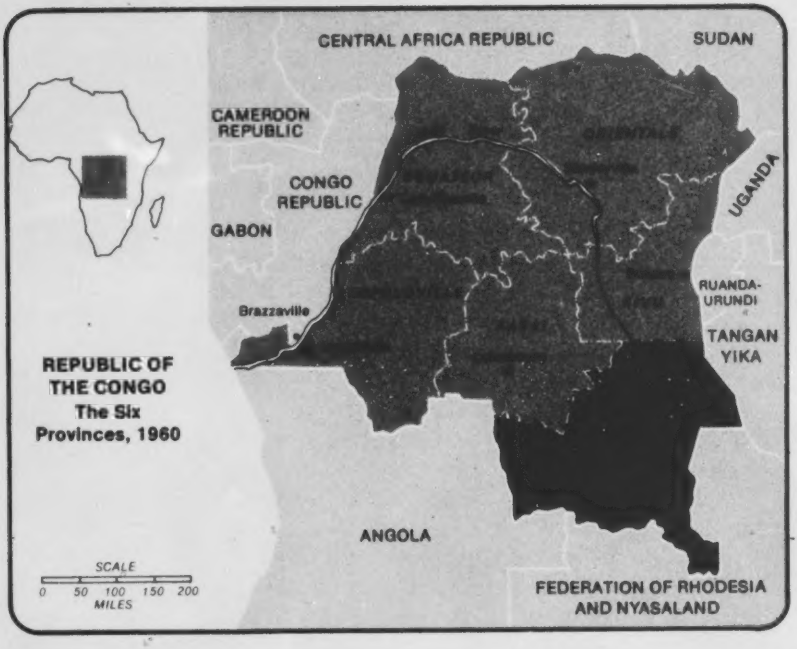


REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO
The Six Provinces, 1960

said. "Some people are claiming that Tshombe is breaking Katanga Province away from the Republic under orders from the Europeans. There's supposed to be a plot to protect white European business interests, especially the big Belgian company—the Union Miniere du Haut-Katange. They say Belgium has sent troops to aid Tshombe."

Maurice disagreed. "There's no plot!" he exclaimed. "Nobody who was for a strong central government could have won the election in that province. Tshombe has the support of those with most of the mining and hydroelectric power in this country. He's smart enough to see that the Congolese economy depends on the European business—especially the Belgian businesses. After all, they give jobs to more than a million natives."

Jon cut in, "O.K., O.K. Don't get off into the promotion bit on the water purification and sewage systems that the Belgians built in the cities. Maybe what's really needed is not one man's program but several programs. How can you be so certain that Tshombe's policies are the right ones?"

"Right," Jay added. "You can come up with at least two views of any of the leaders. Take Patrice Lumumba, for example. . . ."

Judson offered to do that. "I think I'm most puzzled by him because I thought I knew him so well," he said. "There are those who see him like Tshombe, as a puppet in a plot, this one organized by Moscow and Premier Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. To some people, Lumumba seems to want to throw out all Westerners and to socialize the economy. Maybe those things are true about him. I don't know. But I knew him as a bright, gentle, young African nationalist who was fascinated with Western technology and philosophy. During those eleven weeks from July to September, while he was the Prime Minister, he seemed to follow a conservative line. When the trouble began over the secession of Katanga, it was he—along with President Kasavubu—who asked the United States for help. It was your American government, Jay, that suggested he go to the United Nations to restore order in the Congo."

"What Lumumba wanted were troops to insure the central government's control of Katanga—a province that is absolutely necessary to the economy of the entire country. Instead, the U.N. Security Council voted to send forces that couldn't be a party to or in any way intervene with or influence the outcome of any internal conflict, constitutional or otherwise." Lumumba probably turned in desperation to the Soviet Union to save himself."

Maurice raised an eyebrow and exclaimed. "Come on! You've heard his emotional speeches. He denounced United Nations personnel as spies for the white imperialists and called the Secretary-General a 'Belgian puppet.' After a few of his outbursts on the air last August, his followers beat up eight Canadians right here in this city. No wonder Kasavubu dismissed him as Prime Minister and eventually arrested him."

"Arrest him, yes," Judson interrupted, "but now they've turned him over to his arch enemy, Tshombe. They've given him a death sentence without a trial. I can't believe that last report that he's 'escaped legal custody'."

"'Legal custody' is an interesting term too," said Jay. "Who's to say who legally heads the government of this territory? Is it Colonel Joseph Mobutu, the Chief of Staff, who seized power and disbanded the parliament, keeping Kasavubu as President? Is it Antoine Gizenga, who was Lumumba's Deputy Minister, and who's set up a government in Stanleyville? Is Tshombe going to succeed in making Katanga's independence legal? What about Albert Kalonji in South Kasai Province? He says he wants to go it alone, too. Is his the legal government? Which of these men has any right to hold Lumumba prisoner?"

Maurice spoke, his voice barely rising above the noise of the

room, "Might makes right, Jay. That's the standard that operates in chaos. And chaos is what we've got here."

A few electronic crackles broke through the diners' conversations, signaling a message over the public address system:

> Ladies and gentlemen. May I have your attention. The Katangese radio station is about to make an important announcement.
>
> As reported on February 11, Patrice Lumumba and two fellow prisoners escaped from their prison in Jadotville.
>
> The Katangese government has just received word that all three men have been killed by tribesmen in a nearby village.

The storm of indignation that broke out in the dining room was only a slight indication of the public storm that was soon to break out around the world.

On February 14, major newspapers reviewed the events leading up to the death of Lumumba and the current crisis. It began when the Congo moved from the status of the "Happy Colony" of Belgium, through a rather easily attained independence on June 30, 1960, to a new nation beset by a civil war.

The articles usually began with comments about the July 5 and 6 rebellion of Congolese soldiers who raided the countryside, plundering and murdering. Belgium responded to the situation by ordering its army to protect Belgian citizens who were under attack.

Kasavubu and Lumumba, the elected President and Prime Minister respectively, jointly requested that the United Nations send aid to "protect the national territory of the Congo against the external aggression which was a threat to international peace." They stressed the "extremely urgent need for the dispatch of United Nations troops to the Congo."

The Security Council met on July 13 in an evening emergency session which lasted until 3:22 A.M. on the morning of July 14. After much debate, a Tunisian proposal was adopted. It called for the withdrawal of Belgian troops and authorized Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold to send a United Nations force into the Congo. China, France, and England abstained from voting. The next day, 3,500 U.N. soldiers (from several African countries and from Ireland and Sweden) were flown into the Congo, most of them by the United States Air Force.

On July 22 the Security Council unanimously requested that Belgium speed up the withdrawal of her troops. It also asked that all countries refrain from taking any actions that might interfere with the

A Canadian member of the U.N. force in the Congo talks to a group of Lumumba supporters. The U.N. helped to reunite the country.

work of the U.N. forces. United Nations specialized agencies, such as the World Health Organization and UNESCO, were invited to give assistance to replace services being withdrawn by the former colonial power.

A third Security Council resolution was passed with two abstentions (France and Italy) on August 9. It again asked Belgium to withdraw troops from Katanga and gave assurance that the U.N. forces would not "be a party to or in any way interfere in or be used to influence the outcome of any internal conflict, constitutional or otherwise."

In a move to limit the fighting, UNOC (the United Nations Operations in the Congo) closed the major airports to all but U.N. traffic. Because Lumumba had used Russian airplanes to move his troops, he felt that the U.N. action was directed against him. After he verbally attacked UNOC, Congolese troops began firing on U.N. personnel.

In New York the Soviet Union complained about UNOC, even though it had supported all of the previous Security Council resolutions. The Council deadlocked over a decision for further action, and the General Assembly took up the Congo problem under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution of 1950.

On September 20 the General Assembly, except for the Soviet bloc, France, and South Africa, expressed full support of the Security Council resolutions. It also:

- requested the Secretary-General to take vigorous action in carrying out those resolutions and to assist the central government of the Congo in restoring law and order and to protect its unity, territorial integrity, and political independence;
- appealed to the Congolese to seek "speedy solution by peaceful means of all their internal conflicts for the sake of the unity and integrity of the Congo, with the assistance, as appropriate, of Asian and African representatives appointed by the Advisory Committee of the Congo";
- pressed all member-governments to supply urgently needed voluntary contributions to a United Nations Fund for the Congo; and
- asked "all states to refrain from the direct and indirect provision of arms or other material of war and military personnel and other assistance for military purposes in the Congo."

The Soviet Union felt so strongly about the Congolese operations that Premier Nikita Khrushchev flew to New York personally in mid-September to denounce the Secretary-General. In the Assembly Khrushchev stated: "To avoid misinterpretation, I want to reaffirm that we do not trust Mr. Hammarskjold and cannot trust him." He spoke of UNOC as "this unseemly work" and proposed that the position of Secretary-General be abolished.

When the Foreign Minister of the Philippines stood up to defend Hammarskjold, the Soviet Premier was even more expressive. He took off his shoe and began to pound it on his desk!

On the day after the announcement of Lumumba's death, the Soviet government increased the intensity of its attack on UNOC. It released statements to the press in which it accused Hammarskjold of taking part in the murder of the Prime Minister. It demanded the removal of all United Nations forces. Colonialists, Belgians, and their Congolese followers also received part of the blame as Moscow formally recognized the Gizenga government in Stanleyville as the only legitimate government of the Congo.

President Kennedy of the United States called a news conference on February 15 at which he pledged his support for Kasavubu. He told the reporters that the United States would defend the U.N. Charter by "opposing any attempt by any government to intervene in the Congo."

The United States News Television network carried a commentary by Jay Carroll on the 6:30 news on February 20, 1961. Carroll pointed out that it was not only in the Congo that there was confusion. He told the U.N. delegates that they had not come to grips with

what had to be done. He reminded them that the original instructions to the Secretary-General were not clear, and that Hammarskjold had returned to them on several occasions for further instructions as to how to proceed. His job was a complicated one: to help create a stable government, discipline an army, run the essential services in the Congo, and, generally, to keep the country from shattering into several pieces.

Carroll saw the job as an almost impossible one which, with a weaker man as Secretary-General, would never be completed. He praised Hammarskjold for his statesmanship and scolded the member countries guilty of making the U.N. mission in the Congo even more difficult. In his personal view, the purposes of the United Nations were more important than the purposes of any individual member-nation.

The conclusion of his commentary was that the Security Council should change its policy of noninterference. On the military front, it should give the Secretary-General the authority to use force if necessary to prevent the complete disintegration of the Republic of the Congo. In the political area, he advised that it pressure the Congolese leaders to establish a more representative government.

In Elizabethville on September 13, 1961, Maurice Thiebert tapped furiously at his battered typewriter in an attempt to complete his copy by a 9 A.M. deadline. He knew he was repeating himself, but so was the U.N. in the Congo.

On February 21 the Security Council had once again ordered the removal of non-U.N. European soldiers. It authorized the use of force to prevent civil war. That resolution had so shaken the Congolese leaders that several of them began to cooperate with one another out of fear of "United Nations imperialism." Maurice had written several stories covering a series of meetings among these men, leading to a session of the national parliament in July. At the meeting, which had contained no delegates from Katanga, there was agreement that President Kasavubu should establish a new government under Premier Cyrille Adoula, a moderate labor leader.

The Katangese President Tshombe met a number of times with the central government and UNOC officials. Each time they seemed to reach some mutual understanding, but Tshombe would return to Katanga and disclaim what he had said at the meetings. He continued to staff his army with white mercenaries—hired soldiers—in spite of U.N. requests and orders for their removal.

On August 28, 1961, UNOC forces moved to arrest the mercenaries in Katanga to control key installations such as the radio station. Tshombe repeated his promise to remove all the rest of the foreign troops.

Maurice's current story concerned Tshombe's promise. He estimated that few of the white soldiers had actually left, and he predicted that fighting would take place in the near future.

As he walked over to the telecommunications center, an explosion broke the silence of the morning. Maurice didn't wait for the rat-a-tat of the bullets that followed before falling on the sidewalk and rolling into the nearest doorway. There was no longer any doubt in his mind. The mercenaries were attacking the UNOC troops and he would have to rewrite his story. He did so. The report read as follows:

September 24, 1961
Dateline: Elizabethville

Today two members of the United Nations forces met their deaths when they triggered mines that were buried near UNOC installations in Elizabethville. The mines had allegedly been planted by Katangese soldiers.

This is the third act of violence which has occurred in this area within the past two weeks. On September 12 a Katanga patrol clashed with a U.N. patrol on the outskirts of the city. On September 20 a U.N. plane was shot down.

The other reporters were also filing their stories. Jon Jarvie read over his telegram before handing it over to the clerk and telling him to send it out. He then turned to Judson and said, "Toronto must be as tired as I am of these dreary reports."

Judson remarked, "It's only been a month since you were able to send home some copy that was hopeful. Adoula made his announcement about going to the U.N. for reconciliation on August 25. Have you forgotten that?"

"How could I have forgotten that plan?" asked Jon. "It provided for better representation in the government and a general amnesty; it should have worked. Nor have I forgotten the plan Tshombe signed last December—negotiate, agree, and forget. What an act it all is."

Judson replied, "U Thant hasn't been sitting still. It seems he has been trying ever since he took over[6] and received a go-ahead. That Security Council resolution last November directed him to suppress

[6]Dag Hammarskjold was killed in an airplane crash near Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, on September 18, 1961, while on a flight to meet with Tshombe to negotiate the disarmament of Katangese soldiers.

all military activities directed against the central government. He's pushed to rid the country of mercenaries and must have spent hours in negotiations and in writing up agreements."

"Yes, and then there are the battles in New York," Jon agreed. "He doesn't get a lot of support from the U.N. membership. He fights the battles here and then has to acquire the money elsewhere to support the operation. What else can he do?"

"Jon, he could pressure Katanga through an economic boycott."

"But I don't think he can make it work. You know, I hate to say it, but sheer force might be the only way to achieve the U.N. goal."

More than sixteen months later, on January 23, 1963, Jon Jarvie filed his last report from Elizabethville. It was as follows:

> Today Moise Tshombe "welcomed" the Minister-Resident of the central government who has arrived to supervise the reintegration of the Katangese Province into the Republic.
>
> It took 20,000 troops from a dozen nations since July 19, 1960, to arrange this meeting.
>
> A good deal of talking also went into UNOC operations. It was not until last New Year's Eve that U Thant came to the conclusion that the United Nations should no longer rely on negotiations. At that time he said:
>
> The time has passed for long delays, protracted discussions and talk of negotiations which in the past have served only Mr. Tshombe's interest, in any case. Only acts now can count.

Tshombe had threatened a "scorched earth" policy and swore he would fight to the last man, but at this time there is no effective resistance.

Jon and the other reporters stepped out to the waiting planes. One of them turned to shout back at the others, "Any ideas where it will be next time?"

Next time Jon knew, it might be a matter of the major powers taking a "local" conflict all the way to a nuclear showdown. The threat was always there. And maybe it was the most significant fact of all in international relations.

Reviewing the Case

1. Which nations believed they had vital interests in the Congolese situation? What were those interests? In what ways, if any, did their interests interfere with the peaceful settlement of the conflict?

2. Why was the U.N. called into a "crisis taking place within the borders of one country"?

3. Which parts of the U.N. organization discussed and took action regarding the Congo crisis?

4. What powers provided by the Charter did the U.N. use in the Congo? Why was the U.N. unable to carry out all its resolutions regarding the Congo? Was there anything else the U.N. might have done in this case? If so, what?

5. What do you think were the major strengths and weaknesses of the U.N.'s operation in the Congo? Are there ways in which the U.N. might be changed to deal more effectively with future Congo-type conflicts?

Model No. 3: Mutual Deterrence

This is a model of an international system dominated by two superpowers. The primary function of this system is to keep peace between these two nations and thus keep peace throughout the world.

The major concern of each superpower is to prevent the other from becoming more powerful. Each is afraid the other might become the "big boss" of the world. They also try to avoid going to war with each other. Both realize that a war would probably cause vast destruction in both nations and other parts of the world as well.

Soviet soldiers and American soldiers have faced each other on the diplomatic, ideological and military forefronts since 1945.

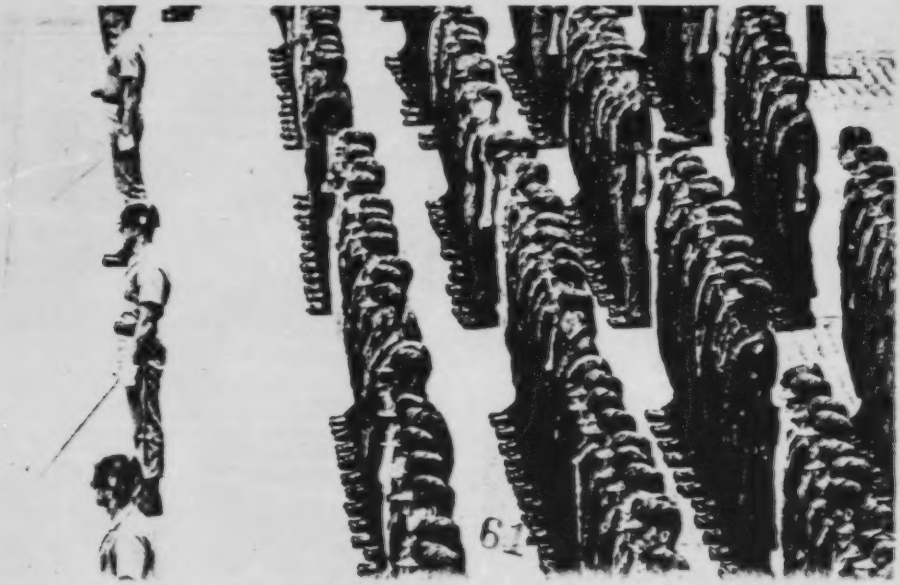
The menace of annihilation results from the power of the weapons the superpowers have developed. These weapons were developed because the superpowers adopted the theory of *mutual deterrence*. This theory is based on the idea that the powers know that if one attacks the other, the attacker also will be destroyed. Therefore each is afraid to strike first. In other words, each superpower is deterred from starting a war with the other. Since they each deter the other, the theory is called mutual deterrence. Thus peace is maintained, at least between those who dominate the system.

Superpowers are modern nation-states whose strength is based on massive industrial capacity (a combination of people, resources, technology, and scientific knowledge) and great military strength. They are so much more powerful than any other nation, or even any other groups of nations, that they need fear no one but each other.

Both superpowers in this model are so strong that even a world organization made up of over a hundred nations is unable to challenge either one of them. In fact, the world organization is often unable to keep the peace if these two powers are not in agreement. If a crisis arises in which each one is on opposing sides of the conflict, the organization is virtually crippled. Nevertheless the powers do belong to the organization and often use it as a forum to gain support for their causes.

The other important parts of the system are regional groups of

The Cold War between the superpowers—United States and the Soviet Union—reached heated proportions in such places as Berlin, Korea, and Cuba.



nations, dedicated to economic cooperation and some forms of collective security. They try to avoid complete domination by the superpowers. The superpowers maintain special relations with these regional groups in the form of defense and trade agreements. The regions thus depend largely on the military might of the superpowers to provide their security.

Both superpowers have tried to obtain support and alliances from the rest of the nations. Each has assumed that every nation should be in favor of either one power or the other. They have given economic and military aid to small countries throughout the world. At times, when there has been a civil war or extreme crisis, one or both superpowers have intervened in order to gain an advantage over the other. In spite of this, many small nations have managed to stay neutral.

A key factor in this system of two poles or centers of power (sometimes called the *bipolar system*) is the balance or equality of strength between the powers. Since each wants to deter the other from attack and to prevent its opponent from "taking over the world," the balance must be kept stable. Great swings of the balance could upset the system to such an extent that war could result. If one power were suddenly to gain more military might than the other, deterrence might no longer work. Therefore, the theory states, "This system works when the balance is so even that there is 'stable deterrence.'" The destructive capacity of the weapons is so great, and the known consequences of their use so awful, that the theory is sometimes called the "balance of terror." The competition between the powers for bigger and better weapons is called the "arms race." Consult p. 60 for a map of the bipolar system based on this theory.

System No. 3: A "Balance of Terror" in a Bipolar World

Shortly after World War II had ended, it became clear that the United States and the Soviet Union had emerged as the two major powers of the world. In fact, their strength and influence were so great that they were termed superpowers. Each occupied the major portion of a continental land mass and maintained extensive influence over its neighbors. Each state governed one of the world's largest populations and boasted an industrial output and potential unequaled by any other nation or group of nations. Both powers

had gained a number of powerful allies who supported their claims to world leadership. Each was completely convinced that its leadership was best for the world and should be established at virtually any cost. Moreover, by the 1950's each possessed a weapons system capable of greater destruction than any other system the world had ever known.

No sooner had the war ended than the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. became locked in a world-wide struggle for power. Each nation used a variety of means at its disposal in order to attain its ends and to prevent the other side from achieving its objectives. Economic and military aid, trade, technical advice, agricultural assistance, propaganda, regional alliances, and security pacts—these and many other tactics and strategies were employed all over the globe.

The basic strategy developed by the United States to deal with the Soviet challenge came to be known as the policy of *containment*, so called because the U.S. aimed to create a balance of power that would "contain" Soviet efforts to expand.

In Europe, soon after the war, the Soviets gained control over a number of eastern European nations close to their borders. Germany was divided into two nations, East Germany and West Germany. It thus became the symbol of a divided Europe—East Germany in the camp of the Soviet Union and West Germany allied with the United States.

The United States meanwhile initiated the Marshall Plan, which served to bolster the economies of the western European nations. A military pact known as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) guaranteed defense against Soviet expansion. The European example was followed by other regional military pacts in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and Latin America. The Soviet Union responded by forming the Warsaw Pact with eastern European nations.

Each of the superpowers was so worried about the activities of its rival that it began to build alliances and weapons resources to *contain* the expansion of the other. Neither power could make any foreign policy decision that did not take this struggle into consideration. In their quest for more support and more allies, the superpowers became more and more embroiled in the internal disputes of the nations of Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and Asia. National crises became the occasion for intervention by the United States and the Soviet Union. Evidence of this struggle and competition in the Far East, for example, is seen in a divided Korea, Vietnam, and the two Chinas.

The destructive power of the weapons which the superpowers

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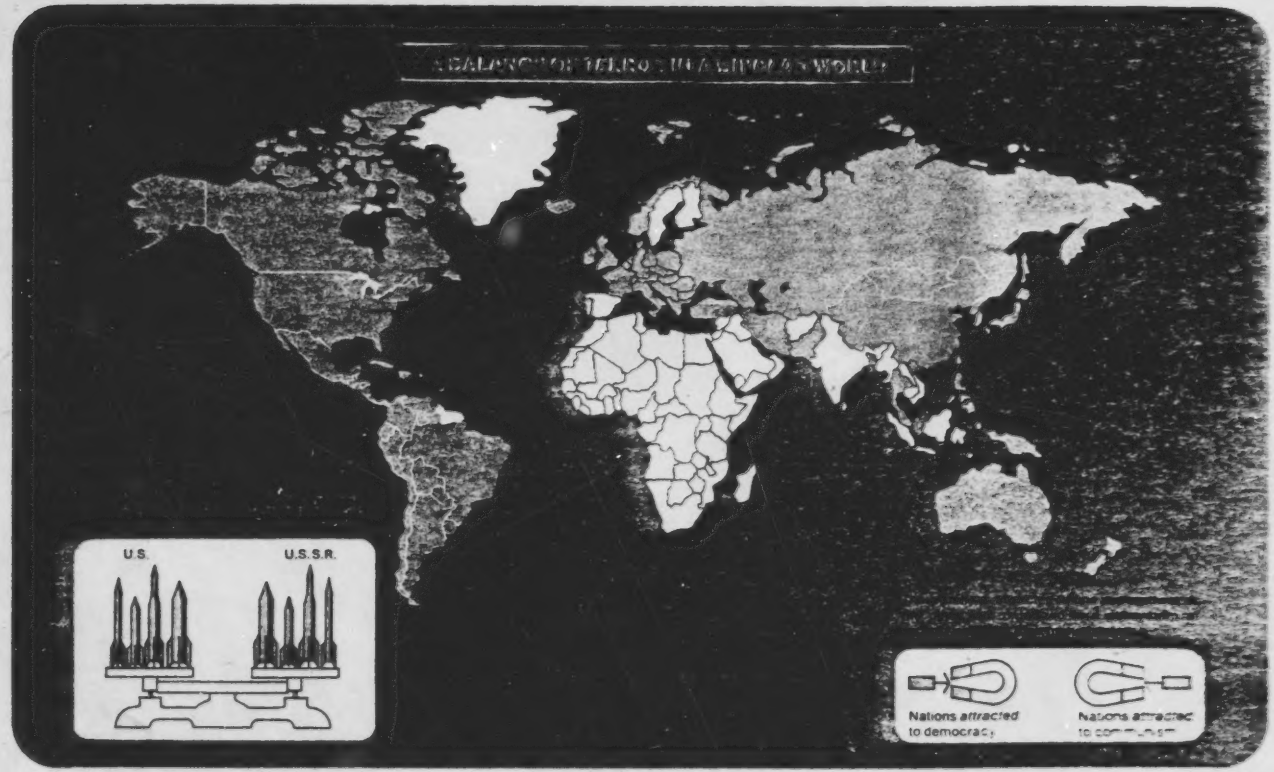

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were developing throughout these years became so great that, as they pursued their policies of gathering allies, each tried to observe as well a policy of *coexistence*. Soviet Premier Nikita Krushchev defined coexistence: "In its simplest expression it signifies the repudiation of war as a means of solving controversial issues."[7] In actual practice, however, coexistence was not a total renunciation of war, though it did mean that the superpowers would try to avoid direct armed conflict with each other, and would refrain from using their nuclear weapons.

The United States and the Soviet Union, while not having engaged each other in combat, have supported opposing sides in Korea and Vietnam. Such "limited" wars are often conflicts in former colonial areas where the local forces fight between themselves for control of the government. The United States supplies equipment, assistance, and sometimes troops to one side, while the Soviet Union assists the other. In a way, each is getting the smaller nations to do their fighting. Such a conflict is called *war by proxy*.

There is no doubt that proxy wars are one of the world's worst problems. They have cost many lives, damaged land and property, and prevented nations from peacefully pursuing better lives for their citizens. In these situations the superpowers, however, appear to be saying to each other, "Look, we are national giants. If we fought each other, we would probably both be destroyed. What would be worse is that we might destroy many other nations. If we used all our power, we could destroy most of the world. Let's agree then not to fight each other; let the little ones fight it out." The "little ones" are mostly the developing nations – sometimes referred to as the "Third World." Even when they are all together, their power does not equal that of the superpowers, so they must accept whatever peacekeeping system the superpowers decide upon.

This situation could be changed drastically. Some of these small nations could develop nuclear weapons. Other nations that have developed nuclear weapons, such as Britain, France, and China, could invent weapons more destructive than those now possessed by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Mutual deterrence, therefore, depends somewhat on the two superpowers' keeping their weapons superiority over all other nations, and the fact that each superpower is faced with the prospect of devastation should it attack or be attacked by the other.

While it often appears that the superpowers act only in their own

[7] Nikita S. Krushchev, "On Peaceful Co-Existence" in *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 38, No. 1, October 1959, p. 1-8.

interests, each claims to be concerned primarily about the maintenance of world peace. Both believe that they carry out this responsibility through the restraints they impose upon the use of their own power. Each assumes that its opponent would not dare to launch a nuclear attack. Each hopes that the leadership of the other power is rational and responsible and will continue to be so. Furthermore, each superpower has devised an elaborate accident-prevention system—a "fail-safe" system—in an attempt to prevent the unplanned explosion of a nuclear device.

Analyzing the System

This system is more difficult to understand because the parts are not as easily definable as the bodies of an organization. Also this system is operating at the same time as the United Nations, so dates alone cannot be used to distinguish it from other systems. The fact that two systems of peacekeeping are operating at the same time is one reason why the whole international system is now so hard to comprehend.

However, the operation of two systems at the same time offers more than one way to settle a conflict. Interaction between both systems is frequently the best way to handle a problem. Some of the questions and activities below may help clarify your ideas about the theory and practice of mutual deterrence.

1. Explain the meaning of each of the following terms: *bipolar system* (pay special attention to the word bipolar), *mutual deterrence* (pay special attention to the word mutual); and *stable deterrence* (pay special attention to the word stable). Describe how each of these ideas operate in the system you have just read about.

2. What is a superpower? What characteristics distinguish superpowers from other nations? What are their goals? How do the superpowers interact in the system? (I.E., what do they do for each other and to each other?) Are there any potential superpowers in the world today besides the two mentioned? Are these nations or regions or both? Explain why you would include any such potential powers on your list.

3. If other powers were to become superpowers, would that occurrence change this system? If you think it could make changes, try to depict these changes on the diagram of the model of the mutual deterrence system.

4. What role does the U.N. play in this system? Do you think the system helps or hinders the U.N.?

Cuba, 1962

The danger of miscalculation and misunderstanding is great in a system of mutual deterrence. The trigger could be easily pulled, or the button pushed, by any leader on either side who felt he had exhausted all other means of settling an issue. What, then, might happen to such a system for keeping world peace in the event of a serious miscalculation? The consequences of upsetting the delicate balance of terror could be nuclear warfare. Many feared just such a consequence when the balance was endangered by the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962.

Chronology of Events

1962 *Summer* -Build-up of Russian weaponry in Cuba.
October 22 -U.S. President John F. Kennedy announces presence of Soviet Union missiles and technicians in Cuba, and his decision to "quarantine" the island nation.
October 23 -Organization of American States (OAS) Council hears conflicting charges of aggression.
October 24 -U.S. sets up blockade of Cuba. Possibility of nuclear conflict shakes world.
October 26 - 27 -Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev sends two contradictory letters to Kennedy.
October 28 -Khrushchev agrees to terms of his October 26 letter to withdraw missiles.

How It Might Have Happened

This scenario based on the Cuban Missile Crisis begins in the Pentagon in October, 1962. A projection screen in one of the offices shows a topographic map of Cuba, while three others display aerial photographs of the island. General Thompson, alone this evening, leans over to the intercom and asks, "Are the blowups from today's flight ready yet?" Three sections of the wall turn dark for an instant, then light up with more aerial views. As the photos come into focus, the General leaps to his feet and moves to the w[illegible] now labeled *San Cristobal*. "There it is, just as I predicted!" he whispers to himself. "The first real evidence of medium-range missiles on the island."[8]

[8]Details and persons in this episode are fictional, but are based on information concerning the work of intelligence agencies in the Cuban Missile Crisis, as presented in "Cuba and Pearl Harbor: Hindsight and Foresight," by Roberta Wohlstetter in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 43 July 1965, pp. 691-707. All major elements and events of the case are authentic.

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THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, 1962
KEY
Soviet Missile Sites
U.S. Military Installations
Jacksonville
MacDill
Patrick
Miami
Homestead
Key West
(approx.)
180 Miles
Havana
Guanajay
San Cristobal
Remedios
Guantanamo
Gulf of Mexico
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAHAMA ISLANDS
CUBA
CARIBBEAN SEA
SCALE
0 50 100 150 200
MILES

The reports he had received from July 29 through August 5 had started him thinking about it. Cuban refugees arriving each night in Miami spoke of the unusual amounts of cargo and personnel being unloaded from Soviet ships in Cuban ports.

Photo coverage by U-2 reconnaissance planes had been requested. The August 29 flight returned with evidence of surface-to-air missiles on the island. But the photographs, and those from further flights in September and early October, showed no evidence of any medium-range ballistic missiles that could be fired at distant targets within a range of 1,000 miles. Reports from Cuban sources suggested, nevertheless, that another flight over the San Cristobal area was called for.

It was that flight on October 14 that had produced these blowups he was now looking at. There was no longer any doubt. The Russians were installing MRBM's (medium-range ballistic missiles) in the Western Hemisphere!

At approximately the same time that General Thompson was in his office, General Ratinov[9] in Moscow was also fretting over the reports he was receiving from his sources in Washington and Havana. He had personally questioned the installation of the missiles. "That's going too far," he thought. He had not expected the American President to accept the Russian move quietly. But others had argued that stable deterrence provided the security needed. They had reasoned that as long as the United States and the Soviet Union were capable of utterly destroying each other, it would be unlikely that the Kennedy administration would seek open conflict.

There had also been much discussion of the importance of support for Cuba, the tiny socialist island that was at the mercy of the Yankee imperialists. Ernesto "Che" Guevara, representing the Cuban Premier, Fidel Castro, had come to Moscow repeatedly to state his government's claim of U.S. aggression toward Cuba. He had requested Soviet specialists and armaments to safeguard his country's independence. The Soviet government had felt that that this was a legitimate request to which it ought to respond.

Ratinov had attempted to counter these arguments by filling in the background on American interests in the area. He started with the Monroe Doctrine. Although a century and a half old, the Americans always hauled it out: ". . .We should consider any attempt on their [European powers] part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to peace and safety. . . ."

He did his best at pointing out that ever since the Spanish-Amer-

[9]The Soviet general also is a fictional character.

ican War in 1898, the United States had acted as if Cuba were an American possession. Americans had intervened directly by landing troops three times on Cuban soil (in 1906, 1912, and 1917). They had also given support to certain politicians in order to protect U.S. business interests. The recently deposed dictator, Juan Batista, had been one of those politicians. As late as April, 1961, U.S.-trained Cuban exiles had attempted an invasion at the Bay of Pigs. They had hoped to overthrow the government of Fidel Castro from which they had fled.

Many influential Americans had been openly hostile to the Castro government. Castro had seized land and companies owned by American citizens. The U.S. had countered the Cuban moves by stopping all U.S. trade except for drugs, medicine, and food.

Relations between the two countries were broken in January, 1961. After that the Americans worked within the Organization of American States to isolate Cuba economically and politically from the rest of Latin America.

The General had carefully detailed his belief that President Kennedy had drawn a line from which he would not back down. First, a good deal of official publicity had followed the visit of the U.S. Chiefs of Staff to Florida bases on August 25. Second, the number of planes that watched over ships approaching Cuba had been increased. Third, and most important, on September 4 Kennedy had announced that he had photographs of installations of surface-to-air missiles (designated as "defensive") in Cuba. The President had taken pains to distinguish between "offensive" and "defensive" weapons. He had stated that the U.S. would not tolerate the installation of offensive weapons that were capable of reaching U.S. territory. MRBM's were such weapons.

Ratinov continued his argument, quoting from the announcements of the opposition party in the United States. Senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois and Congressman Charles Hallock of Indiana, Republican party leaders, had issued statements warning of a Cuban military threat. They called for action from the Democratic administration. To Ratinov this meant that the President was publicly on the spot.

But the General had been overruled and the installation of the missiles had been continued. His task now was to answer the question, "Short of a total war–rejected because of the belief in stable deterrence–what might Kennedy do?"

He picked up a pen and began to list the options open to the Americans:

- Invade Cuba.
- Bomb the missile sites.

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- Send a note of protest to the U.S.S.R.
- Call for a meeting of the U.N. Security Council.
- Blockade Cuba, preventing all trade and supplies until Castro removes missiles.

Ratinov moved his pen to the margin again and wrote, "Diplomatic moves alone not strong enough. . ."

The list was never seen by anyone else because on October 22, at 7 P.M., Washington time, President Kennedy went on national television and radio to announce his course of action.

The United States responded to the Soviet actions with:

- a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment. (Any ship of any nation which carried such weapons would be turned back from Cuban waters. The quarantine did not apply to medicine, drugs, food, oil, or other necessities.)
- reinforcement of the U.S. Marines stationed at the naval base at Guantanamo in Cuba. (The dependents of the military personnel were evacuated.)
- a warning to the U.S.S.R. stating that any nuclear missile which might be launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere would be regarded as an attack by the Soviet Union upon the United States, and the U.S. would retaliate.
- increased naval and air inspection of the military build-up areas.
- a meeting of the Organization of the American States.
- a request for an emergency meeting of the U.N. Security Council to take action against the Soviet Union.

The two superpowers anxiously set out to win over world opinion to their respective sides in the confrontation. The U.S. was especially careful about the feelings of its neighbors in the Western Hemisphere. President Kennedy requested a meeting of the Council of the Organization of American States so that he could present his case.

When the Council met on October 23, it called for the removal of offensive weapons from Cuba and recommended that members take all necessary measures to insure that Cuba would not continue to receive military aid which threatened the Americas. It also requested that the United Nations consider sending observers to Cuba.

The U.N. Security Council also met on October 23. Adlai Stevenson, the American ambassador to the U.N., told the Council that "the transformation of Cuba into a base for offensive weapons of sudden mass destruction constitutes a threat to the peace of the Western

Hemisphere and to the peace of the world." He then submitted a resolution calling for the immediate dismantling and withdrawal of all missiles from Cuba. He also requested that observers be sent to report on Cuban and Soviet progress in meeting the terms of the resolution.

The Cuban Ambassador, Raul Roa, immediately pointed out that the United States "held the only foreign base in Cuba," the marine base at Guantanamo. He claimed that the U.S. naval blockade was equivalent to an act of war. Roa responded to American demands by calling for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Cuba and for an end to the "illegal" blockade.

Valerian Zorin, the Soviet ambassador, argued that the United States' appeal to the Security Council was only an attempt to cover up its aggressive actions. The weapons in Cuba, he said, were not offensive in nature. It was the United States that had taken "a step toward the unleashing of a thermonuclear war. . . ." His resolution asked that the U.S. action be condemned and that the U.S. end the blockade and its interference in Cuban affairs. It also recommended that the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. confer to "normalize the situation."

Stevenson later confronted the Soviet ambassador with the aerial photographs of the missile activity. The only reply he received was that the photographs were forgeries. The Security Council—faced with such dissimilar proposals—adjourned without taking any action.

As the Security Council was meeting, Acting Secretary-General U Thant moved to prevent a direct clash between the two superpowers. He knew that eighteen Soviet cargo ships escorted by six submarines were on their way to Cuba. He feared that if the U.S. tried to stop them, a thermonuclear war might develop.

U Thant wrote to President Kennedy and Chairman Khrushchev asking them "to refrain from any action which may exaggerate the situation and bring with it the risk of war. . . . Time should be given to enable the parties concerned to get together with a view to resolving the present crisis peacefully and thus normalizing the situation in the Caribbean." He requested that the U.S.S.R. voluntarily suspend all arms shipments and that the U.S. voluntarily suspend the search of ships bound for Cuba. He appealed to Cuba to stop work on the construction of military installations.

On October 25 Khrushchev and Kennedy indicated agreement with U Thant's proposals. Both leaders responded to a further appeal from U Thant by backing off from a confrontation. Kennedy said that the Soviet ships would not be stopped if they stayed away from the quarantine area. Khrushchev ordered his ships to stay away from Cuba.

A U.S. Navy ship and plane intercept a Soviet military vessel, with a partially uncovered missile on its foredeck, outbound from Cuba.

Although tensions had been slightly eased, the crisis continued. U.S. Intelligence sources reported that Soviet technicians in Cuba actually were speeding up their work. Medium-range ballistic missiles would be operational within a week, and another Soviet ship was on its way to the quarantine area. Several U.S. planes were involved in incidents; three were shot down over Cuba, and a U-2 plane with navigational difficulties entered Soviet airspace and was turned back by Soviet fighters.

On October 26 and October 27 letters arrived in Washington from Chairman Khrushchev. In the first one he said that if the United States would guarantee not to invade Cuba and to discontinue the quarantine, Soviet missiles could be dismantled and returned to Russia. The second letter carried a different message. In it Khrushchev referred to U.S. missiles in Turkey which were pointed at targets in the Soviet Union. He stated that the U.S.S.R. was as much disturbed by those missiles in Turkey as the United States was by the missiles in Cuba. He proposed a withdrawal of the missile bases in Cuba in exchange for those in Turkey.

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After some troubled discussion at the White House, it was decided that President Kennedy would reply only to the first letter. He wrote:

> As I read your letter, the key elements of your proposals–which seem generally acceptable as I understand them–are as follows:
>
> - You would agree to remove these weapons systems from Cuba under appropriate United Nations observation and supervision; and undertake, with suitable safeguards, to halt the further introduction of such weapons systems into Cuba.
> - We, on our part, would agree upon establishment of adequate arrangements through the United Nations to ensure the carrying out and continuation of these commitments–(a) to remove our blockade in effect and (b) to give assurances against an invasion of Cuba. I am confident that other nations of the Western Hemisphere would be prepared to do likewise.[10]

Khrushchev agreed and was complimented by Kennedy in a nationwide T.V. broadcast for his "statesmanlike decisions."

Castro, however, was unwilling to allow U.N. observers to enter Cuba. The United States, therefore, depended upon aerial photography of Cuba and naval inspection of Soviet vessels to confirm Soviet compliance with the agreement.

In the U.S. General Thompson and in the Soviet Union General Ratinov returned to their regular routines. They wondered how this crisis might have ended if either side had been a little more stubborn, or if there had been different individuals at the helms of their respective nations. Deterrence had worked this time, but could it always work?

Reviewing the Case

1. Why did Khrushchev have missiles installed in Cuba? Why did the United States object?

2. Why was Khrushchev willing to take such a risk? What might have happened if Khrushchev had not withdrawn the missiles? What could the U.S. have done?

3. What factors prevented the United States and the Soviet Union from engaging in nuclear exchange? Can we count on the same factors to lessen similar crises in the future? Does the Cuban crisis lead you to agree or disagree with the idea that a "balance of terror" can preserve peace? Why?

[10]From *The Department of State Bulletin* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, November 12, 1962).

Model No. 4: Limited World Government

This is a model or a plan for an international organization of the future. The theory behind this model is that the world community needs a system of law to keep the peace and resolve disputes. Most nations are already governed by such a system.

The primary function of the world organization would be to make and enforce laws that would prevent or stop wars. Essentially, the proposed organization is a government with both lawmaking and law enforcing powers. Since these powers apply or are limited only to questions of war and peace, it is a limited government, even though the organization would be able to enforce laws against war throughout the world. This plan for world law, therefore, is a plan for *limited world government*.

The responsibilities of this limited world government would be threefold: first, to provide the means for peaceful settlement of disputes; second, to stop violence whenever it ever breaks out; and third, to try to overcome poverty, a major cause of violence.

Like the other models for international organizations, this one consists of several main agencies with definite assignments and functions. There is an *assembly*, a *council*, a *welfare and poverty agency*, a *court system*, and, unlike any other model, a standing *peaceforce*.

Another aspect of the theory behind this model is that financial savings would result from such a peacekeeping system. With courts to settle disputes and a peaceforce to provide security, nations would not need to spend great sums on weapons or defense systems or other war preparations. These savings could be used to combat poverty. A large percentage of these savings then would go to a *development authority* for just that purpose. Consult p. 75 for a diagram of the model based on this theory.

System No. 4: World Law

With each breakdown of the peacekeeping system or threatened outbreak of a major war, world leaders have renewed their efforts to set up a better system to control wars. In each case they looked at the most recent crisis and asked themselves two questions, "What caused it? How can we keep it from happening again?" To

find a solution to potential problems in the future, they tended first to look into the past hoping to find clues.

When looking into the past, however, people do not look so much at the actions that could have been taken as they do at the one that was taken. Then they are apt to say, "That's it! If we can avoid that particular kind of breakdown, we can prevent war." The framers of the League of Nations, for example, tried to avoid arms races and secret treaties. They thought if all members helped defend each other, there would be no need for arms races. If there were an international forum where differences could be openly discussed there would be no secret treaties. If every nation had equal access to the seas, no war would break out over control of the seas.

Nevertheless, war broke out again in 1939. The leaders who drafted the U.N. charter in San Francisco looked carefully at the events that led to World War II. "If the League had had more real power," they said, "it could have prevented the invasion of Ethiopia by Italy. If the League could have used force, and if all decisions did not have to be unanimous, the system might have worked." These people concluded that a system that could use force to prevent aggression might be able to prevent wars.

As the Soviet Union and the United States began to emerge as the leading powers of the world, they too tried to find the causes for war between great powers. "If we keep ourselves equally strong," they thought, "we can deter each other from starting a war. And if we both keep ourselves far stronger than all the others, no one else will start a war. If we have enough weapons and they are so destructive that they could wipe out a whole section of the world, no one will use the weapons. If no one uses the weapons, then we will have peace."

But these answers simply did not cover all the possibilities of the present and the future. Italy and Japan defied the League of Nations because they were both strong enough to do so. The United States and the Soviet Union rarely take their quarrels to the U.N. because each is stronger than the world organization. Any nation, even one in such chaos as the Congo, can resist the U.N. if it has armed forces of its own. Mutual deterrence has prevented nuclear war, but there are more wars fought with conventional (non-nuclear) weapons than ever before.

As you have read in the opening chapter, this book is about the search for an effective peacekeeping system that could work now and in the future. It is also concerned with alternatives to the present international system. It is important to consider all the alternatives that could have been used when trying to determine why

peacekeeping systems failed in the past. It is equally important to consider all the alternatives that might work in the future when trying to devise a system that will be effective.

This chapter is about one proposed plan for peace that resulted from just such an examination of alternatives. But it is only one plan. Perhaps after studying it, you will think of other alternatives. One of your alternative plans might be better than this one—the Clark-Sohn Plan for World Peace through World Law.

All of the peacekeeping systems discussed so far have been planned and set up officially by governments or the representatives of governments. The Clark-Sohn proposals were planned and published by two private citizens, Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn.

The Clark-Sohn Plan is a plan for a peace system which its authors thought could work in the nuclear age. Both men had served as advisers to the American government. Both believed that private citizens have a duty to help in making public policy. They believed that if they put forth their plan for peace, other private citizens would think about these problems as well, and that governments might also be compelled to make more effective plans for peace.

Like all of the planners before them, Clark and Sohn looked at the world situation first to determine what the actual dangers of war were and what was needed to prevent nations from going to war. Unlike previous planners, however, they concentrated on present realities and future possibilities rather than the past.

A Plan For World Law

In their book *World Peace Through World Law*, Clark and Sohn suggest detailed, word-for-word changes in the United Nations Charter.[11] The first change they put forth is that membership include all nations of the world, making the world organization truly universal. All member-nations would have representation in the General Assembly.

This new Assembly would have the power to make laws against violence and to impose a disarmament agreement on all the member-nations. All nations would eventually submit to general and complete disarmament, giving up their armed forces and weapons of war. Nations could maintain only national and local police forces, and light arms necessary to maintain order within their borders. The Assembly could impose a tax on member-nations to support the organization and the peace force.

[11] *World Peace Through World Law* by Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 535 pp.

Nations would be represented in the General Assembly according to the size of their populations. No nation would be without a voice in the Assembly, but the more populated nations would have more say than the smaller ones. (This system is similar to the type of representation of the states in the U.S. House of Representatives). To prevent the big powers from having an unfairly large number of representatives, a limit would be set so that no one member could have more than thirty votes.

This revised Assembly would pass laws against the use of armed force and violence among countries. It also would provide a scheme whereby nations could disarm in several stages over a twelve-year period. The disarmament would be checked out by an inspection service and committees set up by and responsible to the Assembly.

The U.N. Security Council would be replaced in the Clark-Sohn Plan by an *Executive Council* composed of seventeen representatives elected by and responsible to the General Assembly. These representatives would be balanced to represent both large and small nations and could be removed by the Assembly if they did not act in the interest of the world community. This Executive Council would carry out executive functions similar to those carried out by executives in any government. Its special responsiblity would be to enforce the laws and decide where and how to use the police force. The work of the Economic and Social Counci[1] and the Trusteeship Council would be continued. The members of these two Councils would be elected by the Assembly.

A United Nations Peaceforce would be built up gradually as disarmament took place. It would be the only military force permitted to possess nuclear weapons after the process of national disarmament had been completed.

The *peaceforce* under the direction of the council would be the only major military force in the world. Nations would maintain only local and national police. The peaceforce would be used to protect any nation from any other nations (who might just decide to use their "police forces" in an attack), and to keep the peace in the world community. The force would be made up of volunteers from all over the world. Quotas on the numbers of troops from particular countries would exist so that no one nation would gain control of the force. Parts of the force would be stationed in strategic locations all over the globe.

A judicial and conciliation system is also planned by Clark and Sohn. This system would settle disputes between nations by law. The judicial system would consist of an International Court of Justice, a World Equity Tribunal, and a World Conciliation Board. In

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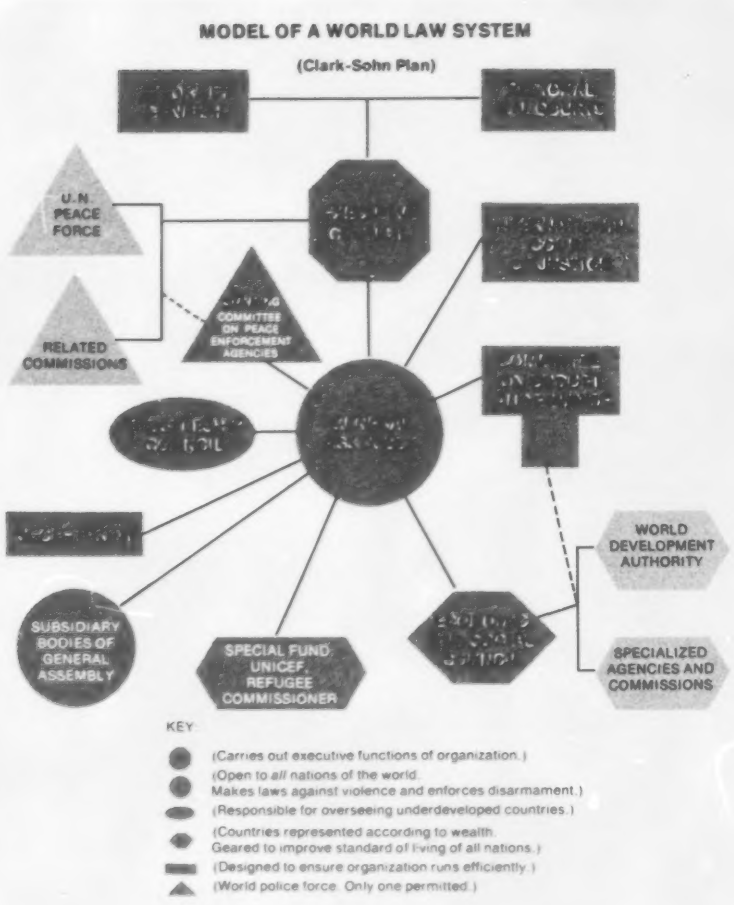
MODEL OF A WORLD LAW SYSTEM
(Clark-Sohn Plan)
U.N. PEACE FORCE
RELATED COMMISSIONS
COMMITTEE ON PEACE ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES
WORLD DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY
SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND COMMISSIONS
SUBSIDIARY BODIES OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY
SPECIAL FUND, UNICEF, REFUGEE COMMISSIONER
KEY:
(Carries out executive functions of organization.)
(Open to all nations of the world. Makes laws against violence and enforces disarmament.)
(Responsible for overseeing underdeveloped countries.)
(Countries represented according to wealth. Geared to improve standard of living of all nations.)
(Designed to ensure organization runs efficiently.)
(World police force. Only one permitted.)

addition, there would be a set of regional member U.N. courts located in various parts of the world. An Attorney General would be responsible to the Executive Council.

Under this judicial system, acts of aggression or threats to the peace would be charged to individuals as well as to nations. Prosecution could take place in United Nations Regional Courts.

In the Clark-Sohn Plan the World Development Authority would "assist in the economic and social de elopment of the underdevel-

oped areas of the world, primarily through grants-in-aid and interest-free loans." A well planned system would also be developed to insure sufficient and reliable financial support of the organization. Clark and Sohn suggest a tax on the nations according to wealth.

Lastly, a Bill of Rights is added for two reasons: (1) to emphasize the limited scope of the new world authority's strength by clearly reserving to the member-nations and their peoples all powers not delegated by express language or clear implication to the organization; (2) to guarantee that the strengthened United Nations shall not in any manner violate certain basic rights of any individual in the world. (Any individual charged with a violation of United Nations disarmament laws has a guarantee that his basic human rights will be protected.)

Clark and Sohn devised their plan to encourage others to think about peace. They attempted to look not only at the present condition of the world and what might threaten world peace now, but also to project future causes of war and to suggest ways of dealing with them.

Analyzing the System

Any judgments made about this system will have to be tentative. In fact, it is not a real system at all because it is not in operation. It is still only a proposal—a model for a revised United Nations. What you could think about here is whether you agree or disagree with the theories of Clark and Sohn. You might also speculate about the accuracy of their predictions about the future causes of war.

1. Explain the basic idea behind the Clark-Sohn Plan. What do they believe to be the role of law in society? Do you agree with the assumption that enforceable law at the global level would prevent war? Explain the reasons for your opinion.

2. Some students should look into the history of domestic police forces. When were they first established in Europe and the United States? What conditions led to their establishment? Are conditions in the world community today truly comparable? Again, be sure that whoever presents this report gives reasons for his or her opinions. The rest of this class should question these opinions.

3. Define federal system. How do the structures of the Clark-Sohn model compare to those of the American federal system? Do you think the

similarities to the American system of government would make the plan more or less acceptable to other nations of the world?

4. What are the most important differences between the present way that nations operate, and the way in which they would operate under the Clark-Sohn model? Do you think these changes would make the U.N. more effective? Review the list of U.N. peacekeeping operations you researched while studying that system. Do you think the Clark-Sohn model would have been more or less effective than the U.N. in each of these cases? Why or why not?

5. Set up a special committee in class to study the needs of and the possibilities for a revision of the U.N. Charter. Have some of the class play the roles of the committee members. They should formulate questions to get at the needs of peacekeeping. These questions should then be presented to the class in the form of a press release on the work of the committee.

At the first public meeting, have two class members testify before the committee; one should state the case in favor of U.N. adoption of the changes suggested by Clark and Sohn; and the other should give the case against it. Follow this testimony by hearing other witnesses. These witnesses should represent the major powers, some of the developing nations, and other countries that might be called middle-sized powers. Have each witness tell why his country is for or against the plan. At the end of the hearing, the committee should prepare a report to present to the General Assembly (the whole class). This report should be in the form of a recommendation to adopt or not to adopt the Clark-Sohn Plan. The Assembly should then vote to accept or reject the recommendation.

If the committee accepts the plan and the Assembly rejects it, then a compromise has to be reached. Some alternatives should be suggested. What does the class think will work? What does it think will not work?

Malaysia, 1989

The case studies involving Ethiopia, the Congo, and Cuba were *historical* cases that did happen. The following incident is a *hypothetical* one, serving to illustrate how the Clark-Sohn Plan might operate.

What if, in the United States presidential elections of 1980, one candidate, perhaps of a new political party, campaigned to "end poverty and pollution by leading the world to peace," and he got elected?

What if the citizens of the U.S.S.R. also expected their premier and president to join in a world-wide movement to enact the Clark-Sohn proposals?

What if the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States persuaded the rest of the world to support the Clark-Sohn proposals, and the United Nations adopted them in 1983?

What if Malaysia, in 1989, confronted this new world authority–a revised United Nations–with its first severe challenge?

Chronology of Events

1945 Republic of Indonesia declared as an independent state.
1949 Dutch withdraw from Indonesia ending their colonial rule there.
1963 Federation of Malaysia is set up in former British territories.
1965 Armed invasion of Malaysia by Indonesians.
1966 Hostilities between Malaysia and Indonesia ended.
1980 New Populist Party candidate wins election to U.S. Presidency on a platform proclaiming, "Peace will end Poverty and Pollution."
1983 Agreement between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. leads to adoption of Clark-Sohn proposals.
1983 Arms truce census established.
1985 World-wide disarmament begins.
1989 *January 15* -All nations of world have reduced their military forces and armaments by 40 percent.
1989 *February 1-5* -Rumors and reports of guerrilla movements in central Malaysian states.
February 5 -Guerrilla uprising in Sarawak; sporadic violence largely against Chinese shops, foreign-controlled banks and businesses.
February 6 -Widespread outbreaks of fighting in southern West Malaysia and Sabah.
February 7 -Malaysia requests Executive Council to send a United Nations Peace Force.
February 8 -Insurrections break out in Java and Sumatra; Indonesia lodges complaint against China; Dato Sarabudo broadcasts from exile that the revolution is underway; China denounces the governments of Malaysia and Indonesia in the General Assembly.

How It Might Have Happened

The opening scene in this scenario takes place in the dining room on the eighteenth floor of the Federal Hotel in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, on February 6, 1989.[12]

The five young people from the U.N. Development Corps, a special project recently inaugurated by the World Development Authority,

[12] Although this case and the characters in it are fictional, it is based on real conditions and historic events of the past and present.

were scheduled to leave next morning for villages being settled in the newly developed farm lands in the Jengka Development Project. Families from all over Malaysia were now pouring into the area. The team members, having completed their training, were to spend the next two years in the state of Pahang, teaching reading, developing health programs, and showing families how to grow oil palms on their own ten-acre plots. As they talked, each of the young people recalled the strangeness they had felt six weeks earlier when they met aboard the train from Singapore.

Maria pointed out the window. "Remember the first time I saw those minarets?" she asked.

"You thought that railway station was the National Mosque," Sergei remarked.

"After that error, Sergei, you were so sure I'd never make it through the training program. And here we all are. . .ready to go to work," Maria replied enthusiastically.

"Don't be too sure," Yakubu cautioned, his tone much less jovial. "I stopped at the Director's office on the way over here. The staff thinks there's more than just rumor coming out of the countryside in the last four or five days. There have been stories of guerrilla movements. We might not be welcome."

Their dinner and conversation flowed on until, at 9:30, several members of the Kuala Lumpur Police Force moved through the dining room. One stopped at their table. "I must advise you not to go out into the streets tonight," he said. "There's been rioting in the main business area and in the Chinese sections. You can see some of the burning cars from here."

"What happened?" Sergei and Ahmed asked at once.

The policeman frowned. The officer said, "Worry about what's going to happen—not what has happened. It's going to be quite a night. There's been a major uprising in Sarawak. We don't know yet if there will be more. Just stay out of the way. We've got enough to do without looking after foreigners."

Inger finally broke the silence that followed the policeman's comments. "These people have been through a great deal since they were controlled by the British," she said. "First the Emergency, then the Confrontation,[1] and now this—whatever it is."

Ahmed stood up. "Come on. Let's see if we can get some more information."

Radios and T.V. sets were operating in the hotel lobby and a number of people entered, each with his own tale. By the end of the evening, Inger, Maria, Ahmed, Sergei, and Yakubu were able to piece together a sketchy picture of what had happened.

A number of guerrillas, trained in an isolated area of Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo) had passed over the mountains into Sarawak. They had divided into small groups, followed the Rajang River, and reorganized for a coordinated attack on the provincial capital. In two

[1]When the Federation of Malaya was formed in 1948, Communist groups moved to seize control of the government. The declared "State of Emergency" ended in July, 1960, after more than a decade of guerrilla war. When Malaysia was formed in 1963 by bringing together Malaya and the British-controlled territories in Borneo, President Sukarno of Indonesia announced his "crush Malaysia" policy of "confrontation." From 1963 to 1966, Indonesia refused to recognize Malaysia, and actively supported Malaysian rebel groups.

hours they had captured the major government buildings in Sibu. Even the police station and the radio station were under their control. In other Malaysian cities, mobs of young men ran through the streets setting fires and attacking foreign-owned establishments. In Kuala Lumpur there were reports of hundreds of cars on fire. Eyewitnesses told of seeing Chinese being dragged into the streets and hacked to death on the spot.

In the early morning (February 6), the government radio station announced that there was fighting throughout the southern part of the Malay peninsula and Sabah. The rich Seria oil fields in Brunei had been taken over by the workers.

The five youths were almost talked out. Throughout the night, they reviewed together the history of Malaysia and Indonesia as they had studied it in their training. They had talked about the major influences in the area—the early Hindu culture, the Muslim states, the arrival of the Portuguese traders, the rule of the British in Malaysia and the Dutch in Indonesia, and the struggle for independence after World War II.

They had discussed the particular interests of China and the United States in the area, which seemed so important in the last decade of the twentieth century. The U.S. was currently supporting the governments in power and was doing all it could to obtain aid for them from the World Development Authority. The Chinese were vocal in their criticism of both the Malaysian and Indonesian governments and were maneuvering to block the loans. Over the years, the Chinese had considered the leaders of the Malaysian and Indonesian governments as being "henchmen" for their former colonial masters.

The next morning, February 7, the Prime Minister of Malaysia asked the Secretary-General to send a United Nations Peace Force immediately. In the General Assembly, the Malaysian Ambassador presented evidence of guerrilla activities. Of particular interest were aerial photos of a military training base. The Ambassador insisted that the base was located in Brunei—a small state still allied with Britain.

Meanwhile, in Kuala Lumpur, the police announced that the city was secure. Shops were allowed to reopen from ten in the morning until four in the afternoon. Everyone, however, was warned of a curfew to be strictly enforced from 6 P.M. to 6 A.M. People began to leave the hotel lobby.

Sergei started out the door as the announcement was completed,

calling as he left, "How about walking to the Corps headquarters? We ought to make it in twenty-five or thirty minutes—and my legs need stretching."

Few people were on the streets, though the five youths were aware of faces peering out at them from behind draped windows. Sergei began to count the overturned cars not yet towed away. Maria stopped for a moment by one of them. She turned, catching Sergei's eye, and exclaimed, "Oh, let's hurry, I think those red stains are. . . ." The rest of the speedy walk was conducted in silence.

At the Development Corps office, the Director greeted them with a sigh of relief. "I had no idea where you were. Do you know how many people have been killed in this city since I last saw you?" They didn't. "It's estimated between three and five hundred," the Director said. "But we have to worry about the living. Change your clothes quickly. I have work for you with the wounded. We've turned the U Thant Building into an emergency hospital."

At lunch time the next day (February 8) Sergei, holding his tray

with one hand and the small of his back with the other, carefully sat down at a table with Maria, Inger, and Yakubu. "Ooh, my aching back," he groaned. "The Director wasn't fooling when he said he had work for us."

"Did you hear about what's happening in Indonesia?" asked Inger. "I read a teletype report which told of unbelievable uprisings. In Sumatra several plantation managers and their families have been tried and executed by their employees. In central Java gangs of youths armed mostly with knives and bamboo spears have attacked small army installations and police stations in order to capture weapons. In village after village there are rampaging units burning and murdering. It seems to be a calculated pattern."

"Well," answered Sergei, "the Indonesian government says it has sent in its para-commandos and expects to restore order soon. They've asked for a special session of the U.N. Executive Council. It seems some of the groups that the army has captured are well-armed with ammunition that has been made in—guess where?"

"China!" exclaimed Maria in disbelief.

"You get the prize," joked Sergei. "And I get to go back to work. See you."

Yakubu looked up, spotted Ahmed, and waved to him to come over. Ahmed moved quickly toward them, holding the transistor radio he always had with him. "Listen to this, will you? Dato Sarabudo is speaking from exile in the Philippines."

. . .no international plot, no foreign conspiracy, but rather a burning passion for national freedom and a just society.

Yes! The crowds in the streets are shouting. But listen to what they shout. They cry 'Smash the exploiters! Get rid of the corrupters.'

Thus has it been in my lifetime and even before. When I was born, in the late 1940's, my father was already fighting in the long and bloody fight against the imperialist forces. After World War II, the Dutch sought to retain their former position as colonial masters of Indonesia.

In the north, which belongs to the Malaysian peoples, the British returned and *talked* about freedom and independence for the subjugated people in their former colonies. The British empire-makers allowed some of their puppets to act out a charade of nation-making.

In the south—in Indonesia—we seemed for a short time to be more successful in reaching our goals, but in 1965 conservative forces led by the army struck back savagely.[14] I remember the 1960's in terms of the number of our people who were slaughtered. Our men who survived were driven into internment camps. Our women and children were allowed to starve to death. . .and the foreign dogs returned to build their banks, to refine our oil, to steal our Malaysian birthright of self-rule.

Let us hear no more in the General Assembly about 'aggression' from a foreign power.

Listen to the youth of Malaysia and Indonesia calling—in harmony—for a genuine union of the Malaysian peoples. See whom they attack. They attack the arrogant intruders who exploit our people.

As the Prime Minister of the Malaysian Liberation Movement, I request that no troops of the United Nations Peace Force be sent to interfere with the understandable actions of a frustrated people who seek only to direct their own lives.

To you, my Malaysian followers, I speak now. Your government in exile is working for you. Your leader Sarabudo will soon join you to be present in battle and in victory.

I have brought suit in the World Equity Tribunal to force the false government of Indonesia to let me return to my native land.

[14]After independence in 1950, President Sukarno led Indonesia in a "Guided Democracy" and a "Guided Economy." In the 1960's Sukarno moved toward closer cooperation with the P.K.I., the Indonesian Communist Party. In 1965 the P.K.I. attempted a complete takeover of the government, but the army resisted and managed to gain control. A bloodbath followed. Estimates of Indonesians slain (mostly alleged Communists and Communist sympathizers) range from 150,000 to 400,000.

Let your spirits rise, Malaysians! We will again be as one! I shall return to you soon.

"Wow! He sure reaches for the crowd," said Ahmed. "Wouldn't it be interesting if he were to return to Indonesia and the Indonesians took him before the World Court? I think they have enough evidence to accuse him of violating the arms agreement."

"Ahmed, do you think he's for real?" asked Maria.

"Maria, there's no doubt. The Indonesian government tossed him out more than six years ago because he had a gift of gab that got him followers and gave them trouble. His party never received more than 18 percent of the vote in a national election, but its members were always agitating and stirring up unrest whenever they could manage to dig up an issue."

"Another question," added Maria. "When he talks about 'exploiters,' I assume he means Europeans and Americans. But does he also mean the Chinese shopkeepers and moneylenders throughout the country, and the Hindu laborers from India?"

Ahmed added, "And do you believe that stuff about no outside aid? What about the guns made in China which they found in Indonesia?"

"Whoa! No more questions," Ahmed pleaded. "Right now it doesn't matter what I believe. What's important is what the members of the Executive Council and the General Assembly believe—especially what they believe about their own United Nations Constitution."

Reviewing the Case

1. Review the major events that occurred in this case. When you are clear as to the order in which the events took place, hold a class discussion on each of the following:

- whether or not the U.N., as reorganized under the Clark-Sohn Plan, could actually resolve the crisis;
- what changes, if any, might be needed in the reorganized U.N. to make sure that it could resolve the crisis;
- what you think is effective and what you think is not effective about the Clark-Sohn Plan.

2. In groups of two to four, write an ending to the Malaysia case, using the Clark-Sohn Plan to try to solve the crisis. (Your ending must consider the extent to which the world has disarmed or retained its armaments in the six years that the plan has been in effect.) Compare the endings that various members of your class have created, and discuss which of those written seem most probable.

Some Conclusions and Some Suggestions

The four scenarios you have read in this book demonstrate how an actual or proposed peacekeeping system operated in either an historical or hypothetical case. You and your classmates might find it interesting to imagine how all four systems might work in the future.

Testing the Models

Here is an activity to help you imagine the future. It is a kind of experiment or test of the models to help you see if you prefer one, or indeed any, of the models you have studied. By following the procedures outlined below, you should be able to compare the possible effectiveness of the four models.

1. Begin by reading the first scenario in this book, *April 1, 1990. . .* Make some notes on the factors that make the situation a potential crisis for the peacekeeping system.

2. The class should be divided into four groups of students. Each group will then select (perhaps by drawing lots) one of the four models. As a group, review the description of your model. During the discussion, keep the diagram of the system visible if you feel it might help. Be sure you remember all the parts and understand how they operate.

3. Members of those groups that chose models Nos. 1, 2, and 4 should consider themselves to be members of the Council of the international organization suggested by their model. Members of the group testing model No. 3 should consider themselves to be advisers to the President of the United States.

4. Each group should then apply its model to the first scenario. Within the limitations imposed by the model, the members should explain how they would "resolve" the crisis. In other words, they are to make recommendations about what can be done to keep the peace, by using the powers and processes described in the model.

5. After considerable discussion (at least one class period), the small groups should report their suggestions to the entire class. In their reports they should include answers to the following questions:

- Why did you make these recommendations?
- What characteristics of your model influenced your decision?
- What is it about the model that gives it strength in keeping the peace? What characteristic(s) makes it weak in its job of peacekeeping?

6. When each of the four groups has reported, the whole class should consider which of these models was most effective in dealing with the hyothetical future crisis and why.

Using A Rating Chart

Testing the models gave you a chance to try out a number of peacekeeping models in one hypothetical future case. It would be useful to speculate on whether these models would be effective in a number of other possible future crises.

On the next page there is a chart. In the first column of the chart there is a list of possible crises. Running across the top of the page from left to right there are columns for each of the four models with spaces for rating the likelihood of their success in the crises. Each member of the class might fill out a chart, and then you could compare results to see how the class rates each of the four models.

Building Your Own Model

Even after all this testing and rating, you and some of your classmates might not be able to choose any of the four models in this book as your *preferred* world. Why not build your own model? You could plan a system that might be even better than any of those you have studied. After you have completed your plan, try to present it so that everyone will understand it. Your diagram could be in the form of a very large chart which

INCIDENT	LIKELY TO KEEP PEACE				UNLIKELY TO KEEP PEACE				REASONS YOU THINK SO
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
A small member nation is about to be attacked by a very large and powerful nation which does not belong to the organization.									
Two small non-member nations go to war against each other.									
A big nation that is a member attacks a smaller nation, also a member.									
Two small member nations are involved in a boundary dispute and seem almost ready to go to war.									
A big non-member nation is reported to be rapidly increasing its armed forces. It is proposed that the non-member nation be asked to reduce these forces.									
Civil war breaks out in a newly independent nation.									
Two small nations allied with Superpower A threaten to go to war with another small nation allied with Superpower B.									
A leading scientist of Superpower A discovers a new weapon that appears capable of wiping out Superpower B before it will have a chance to counterattack.									
A third superpower, C, has developed weapons that equal in quantity and deadly force those of Superpowers A and B.									

you could put up on the bulletin board. Use the functional symbols you have seen in the other diagrams in this book to illustrate the parts of your models. How do the institutions represented by these symbols operate to perform the function of peacekeeping?

As you plan your model, remember to keep in mind what you think is most likely to cause war now and in the future. Then you must decide what kinds of institutions could prevent war. Plan parts for your model that could carry out the necessary preventive functions. When you present your diagram to the class, also tell them what your theory is.

Testing Your Own Model

While the system-designers are planning their model, another group might prepare some possible crises that could be used to test the model. This group would be a team of scenario writers. They would also have to list what might be some of the potential causes of war. This list of causes could then serve as the basis for a scenario, or group of scenarios. These scenarios could be used to try out the new model, in the same way that the *April 1, 1990,* scenario was used. After you have made your action decisions working within your own model, raise the same questions as were raised about the other models. How did you do as peacekeepers? Do you think your plan might work?

If you really think your own plan or any of those you have studied could provide adequate security for the world community, how do you think it could be adopted? You should begin to think about how the world community might move toward whatever preferred world you have agreed upon. This is far from the end of the inquiry into peacekeeping problems and possibilities. For even after the majority of the people of the world, have adopted the peace system which you prefer, the policies and actions needed to bring the plan into being have to be agreed upon.

This is a whole new area of inquiry for you to follow. And because this inquiry is a continuing one, some questions should be asked whenever you come across a plan for peacekeeping in the future.

- Will this plan work?
- Do we need the institutions proposed by this plan?
- Is this plan fair to all who will be affected by it?
- What effect might this plan for peacekeeping have on the quality of life?
- Is it a true world order model?

And finally, there are two questions you should always ask yourself: Can the institution of war be eliminated? Can I do anything to help?